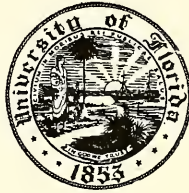



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HISTORY OF THE PEKING SUMMER PALACES
UNDER THE CH'ING DYNASTY

HISTORY OF
THE PEKING SUMMER PALACES
UNDER THE CH'ING DYNASTY

BY

CARROLL BROWN MALONE

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TO
ALMA EARL MALONE
WHOSE LOYALTY, ENCOURAGEMENT, AND COOPERATION
ARE LARGELY RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS STUDY

FOREWORD

To speak of the "Summer Palaces" of Chinese emperors is to recall the well-known lines of Coleridge:

In Xanadu did Kublai Khan
A stately pleasure dome decree
Where Alph, the sacred river, ran
Through caverns measureless to man
Down to a sunless sea.

Xanadu, or Shang Tu, as the Chinese call it, is a forgotten, grass-grown ruin in Mongolia, about two hundred miles north of Peking, for Kublai was a Mongol, and, although he rebuilt and beautified the Peking which his grandfather had destroyed, he loved to spend the summer days in the wide, free world of his ancestors.

The Manchus, too, had many parks and forest reserves in which they sought pleasure "far from the madding crowd." One of these was the hunting lodge at Jehol, four days journey northeast of Peking, where massive buildings in imitation of Lhasa's Tibetan lamasery were surrounded by many square miles of woodland. It was there that Chia Ch'ing was killed by lightning and there that Hsien Feng died after being driven by British and French armies from Peking in 1860.

To those who have lived in Peking the mention of "Summer Palaces" at once recalls a vision of rare loveliness, the Wan Shou Shan, or Hills of Long Life, the summer home of the great Empress Dowager, Tz'u Hsi, who built it with funds raised ostensibly for the creation of a modern navy:—a placid lake of limpid water, lying at the foot of the Western Hills, high-arched bridges of white marble, beautiful gardens, palaces with roofs of golden-colored tiles, a temple for worship, and a theatre for entertainment. Near this enclosure on the northeast are the ruins of the far-famed Yuan Ming Yuan looted by French and British troops in 1860 and destroyed by the British in reprisal for the torture and murder of prisoners taken under a flag of truce. These two pleasure gardens and others now in ruins are described by Dr. Malone.

Today Peking is no longer the capital. To assist us in forgetting its proud past, we are asked to call the place "Peip'ing," one of the many names by which it was known in the centuries gone. The palaces are deserted and emperor and courtiers are fled into obscurity. It is well that there should be preserved some record of the beauty that once delighted the eyes of mighty monarchs. The future historian will be indebted to

Dr. Malone for the painstaking labor with which he has collected the information stored in this volume.

When peace shall once more be restored to unhappy China, it is to be hoped that a government of the people will not utterly neglect these memorials of the imperial splendor of an era that has passed.

EDWARD THOMAS WILLIAMS

University of California

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In America, I have been most deeply indebted to Professor Albert H. Lybyer, of the University of Illinois, for his wise and friendly guidance in the preparation of this material as a doctoral dissertation, to Dr. Harley F. MacNair of the University of Chicago, and Professor William Hung of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, for reading the manuscript and making a number of valuable suggestions for its improvement, and to the library authorities at the University of Illinois, Oberlin College, and the Library of Congress, for the loan of valuable books and manuscripts.

C. B. MALONE

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HISTORY OF THE PEKING SUMMER PALACES
UNDER THE CH'ING DYNASTY



EMPEROR CH' IEN LUNG

(From a painting by the Jesuit artist Castiglione, who also designed the foreign buildings at the Yuan Ming Yuan)

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Splendid palaces and extensive pleasure gardens have been—next to war—the most costly luxury of China's emperors. The notorious tyrants of the earliest dynasties, Chieh, the last ruler of the Hsia Dynasty, and Chou, the last ruler of the Shang line, are said to have had palaces of pleasure which were maintained only by oppression of the people and which were a cause of their downfall. For the sake of the common people the philosophers of the Chou Dynasty protested against these ancient extravagances and similar luxuries in their own times. But their books were burned by the great Ch'in Shih Huang Ti, who again laid out extensive pleasure grounds and erected there copies of all the palaces which he admired in all the principalities conquered by him. Emperor Wu Ti of the Han Dynasty, whose successful conquests gave him command of the trade routes from Korea to Central Asia, constructed palaces, dwellings, and grottoes extending over hills and valleys more than fifty leagues in circuit, gathered throughout his whole empire the rarest trees and plants, and held 30,000 slaves to care for his extensive grounds and buildings.

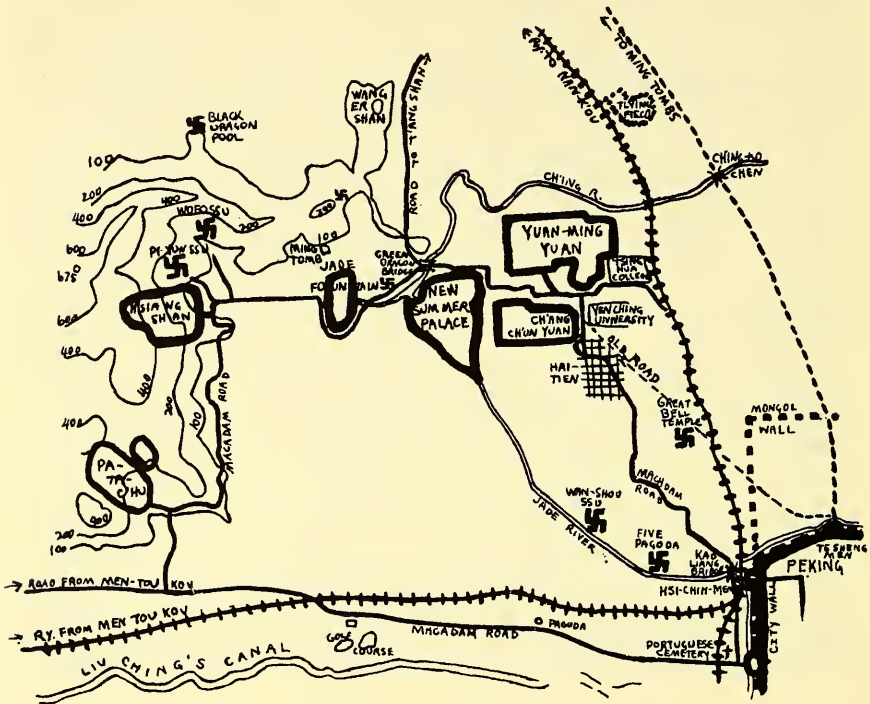
Later, in the Sui, T'ang, and Sung dynasties, the criterion of splendor in gardens was not so much their extent as the refinement of their decoration. Some went to highly artificial extremes. We hear of flowers and leaves of perfumed silk attached to trees in place of fallen leaves, of miniature gardens and dwarf trees, and of an elaborate development of the art of landscape gardening.¹

The famous palaces of Kublai Khan at Peking and Xanadu, or Shang Tu, in Mongolia, were described by Chinese and foreigners in prose and poetry. The rebuilding of the Peking palaces by the Ming ruler, Yung Lo, is also well known. Because of the destruction which accompanied the downfall of the Ming Dynasty another rebuilding had to take place in the reign of the first emperor of the Ch'ing Dynasty. In view of the fact that all the older imperial palaces of Chinese history have been so thoroughly destroyed by earthquake, fire, and war, the palaces of the Ch'ing emperors are especially precious as examples of Chinese palace architecture and landscape gardening. They were also the scene of gorgeous imperial displays and the setting for famous and significant contacts between East and West.

¹Cf. Cibot, "Essai sur les jardins de plaisance des Chinois."

LOCATION

The above statements are true not only of the existing palaces in Peking, but also of the several summer palaces which the Ch'ing emperors built in the region lying northwest of the Peking city wall and near the foot of the Western Hills. Here, too, there were some Ming, Yuan, and even earlier foundations of imperial and private gardens, canals, and ancient temples. There were, besides, some features which were not found in Peking, a greater spaciousness and freedom from the formal



SKETCH MAP OF THE SUMMER PALACE REGION NORTHWEST FROM PEKING

Note: Elevation Contour Lines in Meters.

Adapted from Bouillard's map, "Peking et ses environs."

palace style, a varied landscape appropriate for representing the rice and lotus fields, and boating of the south, the felt tents of the northern plains, the forts in mountain passes, and the monasteries of Tibet, and, above all, the unusual beauty of nature, so dear to the Chinese artist, the contrast of lakes and a well-watered plain against the background of rugged mountains.

This region of the summer palaces as seen on the accompanying map resembles in shape a Chinese folding fan. Its eastern side is formed by the railway and old caravan trail to the north, its southern side by the railway and motor road to Men Tou Kou. Both railroads converge on the Hsi Chih Men, the northwest gate of Peking, as a pivot. The other ribs of the fan are formed by the Jade River, or canal, from the New Summer Palace, the motor road through the town of Hai Tien, and several unpaved country roads converging on this same corner of the capital. The fan is terminated at about ten miles from the city wall by the irregularly curving arc of the Western Hills. The principal objects of interest on the face of the fan are the five imperial residential parks. These are, naming them from east to west: first, the Yuan Ming Yuan, with some adjacent gardens often called the Old Summer Palace; second, the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan, Emperor K'ang Hsi's garden palace, the site of which has lately been a drill ground; third, the Wan Shou Shan and K'un Ming Lake in the New Summer Palace; fourth, the Yü Ch'uan Shan, or Jade Fountain Hill; fifth, the Hsiang Shan, the Fragrant Mountain or Mount of Incense, often called the Deer Park. These five mammoth jewels are strung along a strand of motor road nine miles long, which runs westward in an almost direct line from Tsing Hua College by the railway on the east to the Hsiang Shan Park on the slope of the Western Hills. It is deflected slightly in a bend around the north wall of the New Summer Palace and in another, around the south wall of the Jade Fountain Garden. It is also continued southward from the Hsiang Shan along the foot of the Western Hills, past the great temples in the valley of Pa Ta Ch'u, to connect with the macadam road from Men Tou Kou to Peking.

SUMMARY

The great day for this country palace region came under the Ch'ing Dynasty. Its dawn came with Emperor K'ang Hsi, 1661-1722, who built here his chief country villa and gardens where he might relax somewhat from the cares of state and the ceremonious life of the Peking palace. In his reign also was begun the Yuan Ming Yuan, a garden palace for his son, who later succeeded him and made this his chief suburban palace.

Midday for these palaces was passed in the glories of the reign of Ch'ien Lung, 1735-1796, who was near enough in descent to the conquerors to retain their vigor and open-mindedness and at the same time trained thoroughly enough in Chinese culture to appreciate the best in its literature, art, and architecture. In spite of his early promises of frugality he enlarged the Yuan Ming Yuan and other nearby gardens, enriched them with costly structures, and raised them to the acme of

their splendor. Many exquisite groups of dwellings were needed for the numerous ladies and princes of his household, for their eunuchs, their wardrobes, their barges, libraries, and entertainment. Glittering shrines were dedicated to ancestors and other spirits. Naval maneuvers were practiced on the palace lakes. Prisoners taken in victorious campaigns on the borders of Tibet were settled in new buildings among the garrisons of the victorious Banner troops. When the Emperor rode out to pay his respects at the palace of his Imperial Mother, Manchu guards cleared the new granite roads before the dazzling procession, for the eyes of common men were not ordinarily to gaze on the Son of Heaven.

On the floor of the Main Audience Hall of this palace the rulers of the Chinese world knocked their heads before their sovereign. Tribute bearers from neighboring states brought rich gifts, and embassies from European powers petitioned unsuccessfully for more lenient restrictions on their trade. Through the reports of the Jesuit missionaries who were employed as artists and skilled artisans in these palaces, the fame of them spread to Europe. While Ch'ien Lung had the missionaries build for him in the Yuan Ming Yuan European palaces in rococo style, England, France, Holland, and Germany saw in Chinese landscape gardening ideas which freed Europe from the stiffness of the old style formal gardens.²

The reigns of Chia Ch'ing, Tao Kuang, and Hsien Feng were for the garden palaces a sultry afternoon, closing with a sudden storm from the West. The imperial pleasure grounds were blasted as by a bolt of lightning. This destruction in 1860 began with the looting by French troops and was completed by systematic burning by order of the British authorities, in retaliation for treachery and cruelty to prisoners.

The darkness which followed was relieved later as by moonlight. The rebuilding at the New Summer Palace by the great Empress Dowager, Tz'u Hsi, was but a partial reflection of the glories of Ch'ien Lung's day.

Watchman, what of the night? Emperors, empresses dowager, princes, and eunuchs have departed from their gardens of pleasure. But these palace parks are now open for the common people to enjoy upon payment of a gate fee for the upkeep of the grounds. Railroads, motor cars, and airplanes have come to stay. Tsing Hua University, the so-called American Indemnity College, and the Christian Peking University, called in Chinese Yenching University, occupy the grounds of some of the former princely parks near the imperial residences. Are these but flares of artificial light, or are they the first gleams of a new day?

²Reichwein, *China and Europe*, pp. 113-26; Chambers, *A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening*.

CHAPTER II

THE REIGN OF K'ANG HSI

Of the Manchu emperors of China, only the first and the last never lived in the summer palaces near the Western Hills. It is not surprising that the first emperor, Shun Chih, built no country palaces in this region when we realize that in his reign the city palaces had first to be rebuilt after their burning by the rebel Li Tzu Ch'eng. Moreover, the Emperor was still a boy only nine years old when he came to the throne in 1643, he died in 1661 still young, and his reign was filled with campaigns to complete the Manchu conquest of China.¹

Emperor K'ang Hsi, who built the first of the Manchu palaces near the Western Hills, was one of the greatest emperors in all Chinese history. His long reign, 1661-1722, is noted for his military victories over rebels, pirates, Mongols, Tibetans, and Russians, for his tremendous hunting expeditions, for his patronage of art and literature, and his open-minded attitude toward the new European learning brought to his attention by the Jesuit priests.

One of these men tells a story, which is laid in the region of his country villa, of this Emperor's efforts to curb the venality of his officials and to render justice to his people. On one of his many incognito trips through the country-side the Emperor came upon a forlorn old man and insisted upon knowing his trouble. "If you *will* know," answered the man, "it is that the superintendent of one of the pleasure houses of the Emperor, finding that my property, which is close to the royal abode, suits his convenience, has taken possession of it, and has reduced me to the state of beggary in which you see me. He has done more: I had an only son, who was the support of my old age; he has taken him from me and made him his slave. There, my lord, is the reason why I weep." When the Emperor, whom he did not recognize, offered to go with him to investigate and make matters right, the old man went most unwillingly, as he feared that protests might make matters even worse. But the outcome was that the Emperor cut off the head of the oppressive superintendent and gave his job with a warning to the old man who had been mistreated.²

¹Hsuan T'ung, the last Ch'ing emperor, ruled only from 1908 to 1912 and was made to abdicate when he was still a child too young to need the relaxation from the cares of state, which alone justified the great expenditures needed to keep the summer palaces in repair and to move the whole court thither for the summer months. Cf. pp. 212 and 213.

²Orleans, *History of Two Tartar Conquerors*, pp. 49-51.

Whether true or not, the story is quite possible, for the Manchus did have slaves, did seize land around Peking from the Chinese land owners, and the part played by the Emperor in the story is quite characteristic of the just and energetic K'ang Hsi. The white marble trough, which according to local tradition was used by the black donkey ridden by K'ang Hsi on his rambles incognito about the country, is still pointed out—or was a few years since—lying discarded in one corner of the old site of the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan.

BUILDINGS AT THE HSIANG SHAN AND JADE FOUNTAIN

Ch'ien Lung said that his grandfather, K'ang Hsi, admired the scenery of these Western Hills, enjoyed the flowers and trees, the mountains and valleys, wrote poetry in their praise, and visited every famous hill and ancient temple in the region. He would start at daylight for the Hsiang Shan, spend two nights and a day there, and return on the third day. For the sake of the servants and officials who, he feared, would be tired from the journey, he had a few rough buildings constructed as an imperial lodge beside the temple. This was the precedent for the far more elaborate buildings which Ch'ien Lung constructed here, 1745-1746.³

The gushing spring at the Jade Fountain and the steep hill beside it attracted Emperor K'ang Hsi as they had the emperors before him, Chang Tsung, 1090-1209, of the Kin Dynasty, who had an imperial lodge here, Kublai Khan who built a temple and used the waters to supply the moats and lakes and canal of his new capital, and the Ming emperors who rebuilt temples on the hill. It was in the nineteenth year of his reign, 1680, that K'ang Hsi repaired the gardens and buildings.

The tall pagoda on the hill-top is called the Yü Feng T'a, or Jade Peak Pagoda. According to official records,⁴ it was copied from the model of the pagoda, Miao Kao Feng T'a at Chin Shan, or the Beautiful Tall Pagoda of the Golden Hill. The pagoda and hill on the Golden Island in the Yangtze River near Chin-kiang correspond closely to those at the Jade Fountain. Both pagodas are octagonal, seven stories high, of about the same proportions, and situated in temples on the brows of their respective hills, which are wooded and similar in shape. In fact the picture of the Chin Shan Ssu, or Golden Hill Monastery, in the *Ch'ang Chiang Ta Kuan*, a book of views of the Yangtze River, might easily be mistaken for the Jade Fountain Hill, except for the fact that the one looks out on the Yangtze River and the other on the Jade Fountain pool and its streams. Some large characters written by the hand of Emperor K'ang

³*Jih Hsia*, quoting Ch'ien Lung's record of the Ching I Yuan.

⁴*Jih Hsia*, vol. xxii.

Hsi are preserved in a pavilion close by the pagoda on Golden Island. Thus it seems very probable that this Jade Fountain Pagoda was built in 1680 when K'ang Hsi repaired the garden and buildings after the model of the temple and pagoda at Chin Shan.

Another structure on the grounds bears the seal of K'ang Hsi, the date 1681, and the two characters Han Yün, meaning "lowering clouds." This inscription is found over an arched gateway on the spur of the hill running just west of the Jade Fountain. To one looking westward, the arch frames a beautiful view of the garden, plain, and sunset over the purple Western Hills. To one looking eastward the gateway seems to lead to the temples on the Wan Shou Shan and the K'un Ming Lake.

In 1692 the Emperor changed the name of this garden from Ch'eng Hsin Yuan, Garden of the Pure Heart, to Ching Ming Yuan, or Garden of Quiet and Brightness, which is still its official name.⁵

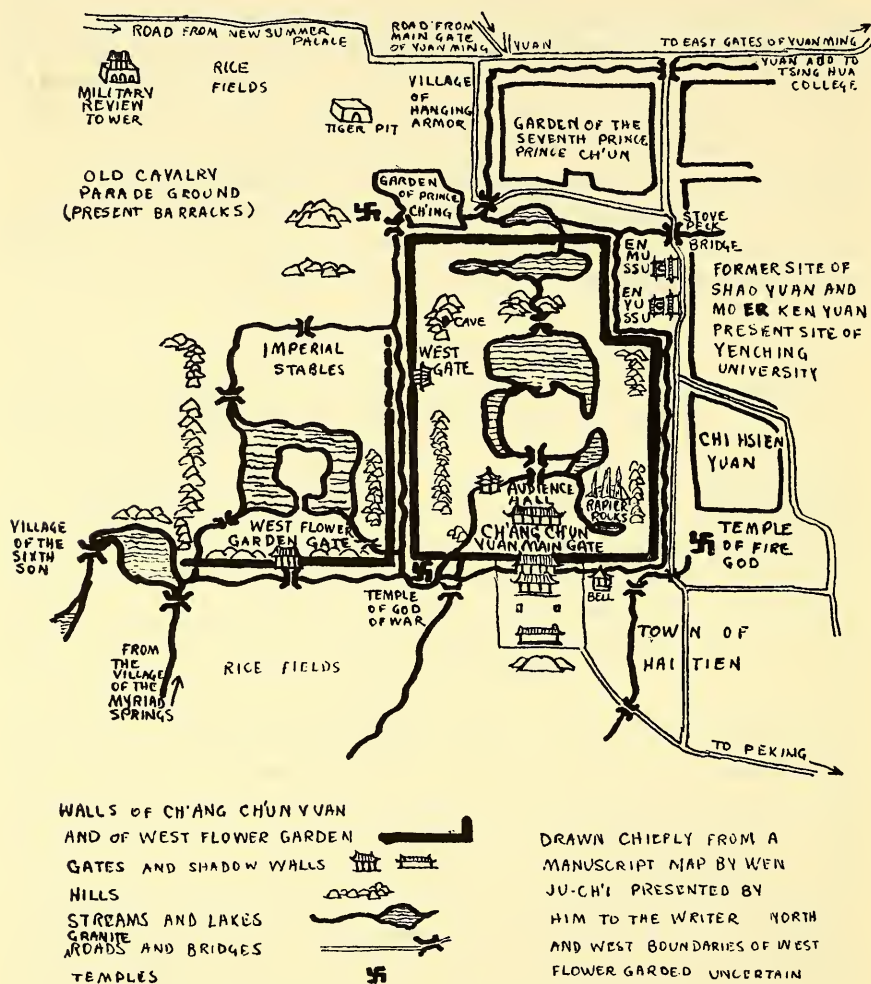
THE CH'ANG CH'UN YUAN

Emperor K'ang Hsi's chief country villa was the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan, or Garden of Joyful Springtime. Its site is now occupied by the drill ground of the troops at the Hsi Yuan, the wide field stretching north and west from the motor road just north of Hai Tien to the barracks near the New Summer Palace. The location of the Great Gate of the Palace is still plainly visible close to the new motor road where it swings around to the west of the town of Hai Tien following the course of the old granite road. The granite blocks of which the imperial road was constructed in K'ang Hsi's day are still lying beside the new macadam road. The ruins of the *ying pei*, or spirit wall, which stood before the Great Gate, the marble pedestals for the great bronze lions, and the foundations of the waiting rooms, and of the gate itself can still be found. This main gate stood in the middle of the south side of the garden. The south wall extended from the southwest corner boundary post, which a few years ago lay behind the little Temple of the God of War, to the main road in front of the Temple of the God of Fire. From this point the east wall ran north to another boundary post just beyond the two red temple fronts and opposite the new Yenching University campus. The northwest corner was just behind the charred ruins of a modern two-story building, formerly the headquarters of the Imperial Guard, on the north side of the drill ground. The whole garden was 10,600 Chinese feet in circumference, or about one-half of an English mile on each side.⁶ This figure, however, does not include the walls of another imperial garden called the West Flower Garden, Hsi Hua Yuan, which adjoined the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan

⁵*Shun T'ien Fu Chih*, vol. iv.

⁶*Jih Hsia*, vol. lxxvi, p. 1.

on the west, nor the *old* cavalry parade ground which lay just north of the West Flower Garden and west of the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan. The present drill ground includes the site of the West Flower Garden and the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan; and the barracks are built on the site of the *old*



SKETCH PLAN OF K'ANG HSI'S GARDENS, CH'ANG CH'UN YUAN, AND WEST FLOWER GARDEN, BEFORE THEY WERE RAZED FOR PRESENT DRILL GROUND

cavalry parade ground. Thus the walls of these two imperial gardens of K'ang Hsi and the cavalry parade ground extended for over a half mile north and south and nearly a mile east and west.

Emperor K'ang Hsi came upon this spot on one of his frequent excursions or hunting expeditions outside of the city walls. He stopped here to rest, he says in the record he made of the garden,⁷ tasted the delicious spring water, admired the scenery and was refreshed by the gentle breeze. A stream, which had its sources in the Village of the Myriad Springs, flowed between fertile fields into a lake in the grounds of the ruined garden of the Marquis Li Wei, father-in-law of the Ming Emperor, Wan Li, 1572-1620.⁸ The buildings were then in ruins, but the aged trees, green vines, and winding stream retained some of the charm which had given the place the reputation of being the most beautiful garden north of the Yangtze valley. Here the Emperor decided to build his own country seat, and an imperial decree charged the *Nei Ssu*, a bureau of the Imperial Household, with the work of reconstruction.

When the rebuilding was completed the place was renamed. The old name of the garden was Tsing Hua Yuan, or Ch'ing Hua Yuan as it is pronounced by the Pekingese, which means Pure Flowery Garden, and is the same name, but not the same site, as that of the garden now occupied by Tsing Hua University. K'ang Hsi gave his new garden the name Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan, or Garden of Joyful Springtime. By the use of the word "springtime" he did not mean to convey the idea that this palace was pleasant only in the spring, or even chiefly then. Springtime, he explains at length with the help of obscure quotations from the *Book of Changes*, refers not so much to a single season as to the origin of things, the origins of Heaven, of Earth, of men, and all things, according to philosophical ideas which were very clear to the ancients.

The Emperor's own account of his reconstruction work and of his plans for his new gardens shows his regard for the virtue of frugality. He seems to have seen clearly the true interests of his people and the danger of extravagance on the part of his officials. He wished to avoid all unnecessary expense. The old streams and lakes, of course, had to be cleared out, some new lakes excavated and the earth used to build up artificial hills; yet wherever possible advantage was to be taken of the previous condition of the ground. The necessary stone and materials must be brought and the workmen must be well paid, but in all the work the watchword was *frugality*. There was no need for luxurious ornamentation and elaborate carving. He was not trying to outdo the glories of the magnificent palaces and enormous parks of the ancient dynasties, nor on the other hand was he content to live on mud floors or be miserly. The park was to be a place where the Empress Dowager might live, where the Emperor might perform his filial duties to her, and where he himself

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 1 ff.

⁸*T'u Shu Chi Ch'eng*, vol. cccxlv, p. 2.

might find rest from the burdens of state, and leisure for the family life which everyone should enjoy. The fragrant buds, trees, and flowers of every season, the songs of the birds, the broad acres of ripening harvests, the aromatic grasses of the field, leisure for books, and dreams for the future, were to be the joys of this retreat. Its cares were to be for the welfare of the people who looked to the Emperor's conduct, not only for the source of their good fortune, but also as the cause of drought and calamity.

Within the main gate of the garden the Emperor had an audience hall and offices for his secretaries. Elsewhere in the grounds were dwellings for the imperial family surrounded with hedges, low walls, and rockeries; there were pavilions and thatched houses on the hills, bridges over the streams, and boats on the water. Between the trees and over the walls could be seen vistas of the Western Hills, especially the new pagoda on the Jade Fountain Hill and the woody Hsiang Shan beyond it.

A group of palace buildings called Wu I Chai, No Idleness Study, located in the very southwest corner of the park, was assigned to a Manchu hereditary prince, named Li Mi Ch'in Wang. But when this prince was later moved to the West Flower Garden, these quarters were used as residences and study rooms by the young princes.⁹

One of the younger princes who lived in this palace during the reign of K'ang Hsi was his little ten- or eleven-year-old grandson, who eventually came to the throne as the Emperor Ch'ien Lung. His study at one time was in the very southeast corner of the park in the rear courtyard of a group of buildings called T'an Ning Chü, the House of Tranquillity, the front rooms of which were used by K'ang Hsi for hearing reports on national affairs and for interviewing officials.

ARCHERY PRACTICE

The old Emperor had some time to devote to the little prince, as Ch'ien Lung gratefully remembered in a record made long afterwards. In the following account, condensed, he tells of some archery contests by the West Gate.

In October, 1748, I, the Emperor Ch'ien Lung, came to the Garden of Joyful Springtime to visit my mother. I lived in the Kuan Lan Hsieh, the Terrace of the Peaceful View, and met my officials by the Great West Gate of the garden.

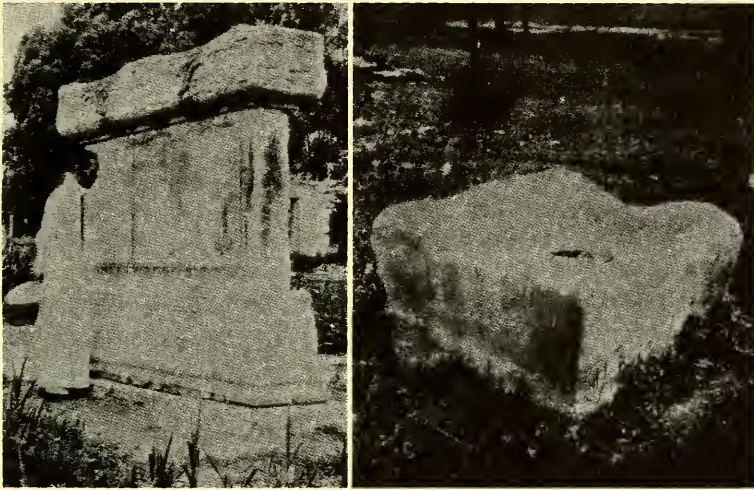
It was at this place that the Emperor K'ang Hsi inspected the archery of his guards.

When I was eleven years old I came with my grandfather, K'ang Hsi, to this same place to witness an exhibition of archery. He explained to me

⁹*Jih Hsia*, vol. lxxvi, p. 23.

the rules and taught me the correct method of shooting. Occasionally I was able to hit the target and I felt very proud and happy when my grandfather praised me. Suddenly I realize that that was over thirty years ago.

Again on May 22, 1749, my mother, the Empress Dowager, entertained me at a feast in the Garden of Joyful Springtime in the Hall of Assembled Phoenixes not far from the Great West Gate. In the previous year when I was practicing here I shot twenty arrows of which nineteen hit the mark. I then wrote four poems and carved them on the wall to commemorate the event. Now, having finished attending my mother at dinner and having disposed of affairs of state, I practiced archery on horseback to amuse my mother. Of ten arrows which I shot, nine hit the target and three the bull's eye. Her Majesty was delighted and the splendor of the garden itself was intensified. Hence I have composed another poem in honor of this event.



CH'EN LUNG'S ARCHERY MONUMENT AT CH'ANG CH'UN YUAN (LEFT) AND MARBLE TROUGH FOR EMPEROR K'ANG HSI'S DONKEY (RIGHT)

This account of the Emperor's skill in archery, together with the poems which he mentions, were carved on a white marble monument and set up near the Great West Gate where these contests took place. The monument now stands before the tall brick building on the north side of the drill ground which served for a time as the headquarters of the Imperial Guard.

THE STORY OF THE NINE DRAGON JADE CUP

Probably K'ang Hsi's Garden of Joyful Springtime is better known to the common people of China as the scene of the theft of the famous Nine Dragon Cup, than for any other event in its history. The incident is related by professional story-tellers to the crowds and read by the literate in the storybook, *P'eng Kung An, the Cases of Judge P'eng*. While many details of the story as it now stands are certainly fictitious, intelligent men hold that

it is founded on fact, and tradition points out the exact spots on which some of the events took place. For instance, near the south end of the east wall, before the walls were torn down about 1908, there was a stretch of about ten feet where the wall was four or five feet higher than the rest. It was so built, we are told, because it was at this point that Yang Hsiang Wu, the thief, escaped from the palace grounds with his prize and so defiled this part of the wall. Also the brass shop in Hai Tien on the roof of which the thief changed his clothes is pointed out. Other places are clearly enough indicated in the course of the tale.

The hero of this tale is Yang Hsiang Wu, a famous thief, who lived in the days of K'ang Hsi. He was a member of a group of outlaws whose principles were very much like those of Robin Hood. They were men who robbed the rich to give to the poor, and did all they could to excel their fellows in deeds of daring and to outwit the ordinary sleepy defenders of the law. Stirred by a report of the honor conferred on his friend Huang, for killing an escaped tiger in the presence of the Emperor, Yang himself set out to find an adventure which would be equally daring and clever.

"Where does K'ang Hsi go to avoid the heat of summer?" he asked casually of a friend, Wu, with whom he was lunching.

"To the Garden of Joyful Springtime," was the answer. "He goes after the fifth of the Fifth Moon and returns to the capital after the ninth of the Ninth Moon. He holds audiences and attends to all public affairs there."¹⁰

Mid-afternoon found Yang Hsiang Wu leaving the city by the Hsi Chih Men, the northwest gate of the city, and following the imperial road toward Hai Tien, where the palace of which he had often heard was located. Arriving at last at a tea house on the main street of the town where a story-teller was entertaining an attentive group, he entered and took a seat in a corner. As he looked and listened over his tea cup he noticed that the guests were chiefly eunuchs from the palace. The story came to an end, but the eunuchs were not tired of hearing.

"Come, tell us another quickly," said one, "I must go on duty at the palace soon. The Lord¹¹ is to see the pictures of the Eight Noble Steeds tonight and I must make everything ready."

"That is the man for me to follow," thought Yang.

The story ended, the eunuch gave the story-teller a note for a thousand cash and departed, Yang following him. Not far from the tea house they came out upon the esplanade before the Great Palace Gate, which the eunuch entered by one of the smaller doorways. Yang was stopped by the guards, but strolled away with a careless air, observing the lie of the land, roads, and possible entrances to the palace grounds. After supper in a restaurant in Hai Tien, he deposited his ordinary garments on the roof of the brass shop at the north end of the town. He kept on a tight fitting suit, wound his queue around his head and covered it with a cap, tied his sword to his back, and at his girdle carried a wallet containing a skeleton key, tapers, and other paraphernalia. Finding a spot momentarily unguarded, he nimbly scaled the outer wall of the palace, then passed through some gardens until he came to some

¹⁰This was the custom of the Empress Dowager Tz'u Hsi. It is an anachronism here, as K'ang Hsi and other Emperors went to their garden palaces at all seasons, even in winter.

¹¹The term by which eunuchs refer to the Emperor.

spacious courtyards which, he was sure, were the Emperor's own apartments. From a roof where he concealed himself he could see the main hall facing south, and heard a eunuch say, "We must light the lamps. The Lord will soon be here." At that the attendants began to bustle about with lanterns and hand lamps.

Yang Hsiang Wu descended and quietly entered the main hall. By the dim light which filtered through the paper windows he could just distinguish a large table in the middle of the room and behind it a large chair covered with yellow satin brocade in the five-clawed-dragon design. This was clearly an imperial throne. It was partly surrounded by a richly lacquered screen. Behind the screen the back door of the hall was reached by an inner door of four panels. As his eyes became accustomed to the dim light, he noticed that the room was full of magnificent vases, wonderful curios, and precious ornaments. Four bamboo palace-lamps were suspended from the brightly painted beams.

The next moment he heard footsteps approaching and saw lights gleaming on the paper windows. Thinking that the party might be going on through this room by the rear door, he stooped down between the screen and the throne, and in stooping down, discovered a space beneath the throne large enough for him to crawl into. The ponderous doors creaked and opened. Hand lamps carried by eunuchs two by two flooded the room with light. The Emperor K'ang Hsi entered and seated himself on the dragon throne. A eunuch, opening a beautiful box, set before His Majesty a curious white jade cup exquisitely ornamented with nine coiling dragons, partly carved and partly natural. Hot wine was poured into the cup and the Emperor sipped a little.

"Bring the pictures of the Eight Noble Steeds presented to us by Prince K'c Le," His Majesty commanded. The scroll was brought, unrolled, and held by the eunuchs for the Emperor to see. He arose and stepped down from the throne to get a closer view.

"This first one, a bay," the Emperor was speaking, "was named Ch'in T'u, and was famous in the time of the Three Kingdoms. He belonged to Lü Pei and fell into the hands of T'sao T'sao who gave him to Kuan Yü. On him Kuan Yü rode through five gates and killed six men. The second horse, named Yellow Sheen, was ridden by Ch'in Ch'iung at Lin T'ing Kuan when in spite of water and mud he saved the T'ang emperor from capture. The third, named Burning Coal and Fire Dragon's Foal, belonged to Li Ts'un Hsiao under the T'ang Dynasty, who single-handed fought against twenty thousand northern barbarians. . . ."

Meanwhile from under the Emperor's throne, where he was crouched like a mouse stealing wax, Yang peeped out. Emperor and eunuchs were absorbed in the pictures and stories of the noble steeds. Yang quietly reached the Nine Dragon Cup, standing still half full of wine on the table before the throne, drank the wine, kept the cup, and without disturbing the entertainment in the least, slipped out through the back door of the hall. It was easy to leave the grounds by the same path he had entered. He changed back to his street clothes and the next morning found him narrating his adventure and displaying his trophy to a friend in Peking.

When the Emperor had finished viewing the picture there was consternation over the disappearance of the Nine Dragon Cup. A sleepless night was spent by eunuchs and officers in the fruitless search for the precious cup or

the thieves. The question of punishing the eunuchs and guards for carelessness was brought up at the audience early next morning, but was put off on the advice of the Grand Secretary that the honor of the yellow riding jacket bestowed on the notorious thief, Huang, for killing a tiger, had stirred other thieves to deeds of unusual daring.

The outcome of their deliberations was that Huang should be held responsible for this theft, on the grounds that if he did not do it himself, he was probably in some way responsible for it, or at least privy to it. Although Huang denied all knowledge of the affair, when he was summoned and questioned about it, he agreed to do what he could to try to find the cup for the Emperor. For this purpose he was given a time limit of two months without any assurance of mercy in case he failed.

It is not necessary here to enter into the intricate story of how, at a large gathering of thieves from several provinces, Huang learned that the Emperor's cup had been stolen by Yang Hsiang Wu who had lost it again, nor of the second successful theft of this same cup from a powerful robber chieftain, who had refused to give it up willingly to save a brother thief in trouble, by Yang Hsiang Wu who delivered it to Huang. Thus after many adventures, Huang was able to report to the officials that the Emperor's cup had been found. Instead of his obtaining a discharge, however, the decree came summoning him and Yang Hsiang Wu to the Garden of Joyful Springtime where Emperor K'ang Hsi himself wanted to see what sort of robbers these were and to hear their story. In charge of a friendly official named Judge P'eng, they arrived at Hai Tien on the afternoon before the day appointed for the audience. There they lodged in the Temple of the God of War near the Palace Gate, Judge P'eng himself in the main hall and his charges in a side room where he ordered a feast for them. Summoning them before him late in the evening, he instructed them in the etiquette to be observed in the presence of the Emperor, and encouraged them not to be afraid. "For the Emperor is merciful and virtuous. Frankly tell the truth, whatever questions he may ask you," he concluded.

The next morning after the audience for public business was concluded, the Emperor retired to the Pavilion of Quiet Joy where Judge P'eng with his two charges were awaiting him. They kotowed reverently. "Now let us see the man who stole our cup from our palace and let us hear from his own mouth the narrative of his exploits," commanded His Majesty. Yang Hsiang Wu told the whole story from his first hearing of Huang's exploit to his final recovery of the cup from the robber chieftain.

When the Emperor was about to pardon the thieves, the Mongol Prince, Ta Mu Su, objected to Yang's story of how he robbed the robber chieftain as a false and preposterous tale. He suggested that the Emperor test him. "If he can steal the cup from me by cock-crow tomorrow morning, I'll believe him. If he can not, let him die for his crimes and lies." Yang was willing to accept the challenge, and the Prince was to keep the cup in the Play Flower Tower in his own villa just north of the imperial palace.

Thus the last scene of the story was enacted chiefly in one of the princely palaces very close to the Emperor's garden. Here again Yang Hsiang Wu's cunning triumphed, even though the Mongol Prince and Wang, the Grand Secretary, both together sat up to watch the cup. In the hurly-burly which

ensued on the arrival of the Grand Secretary's retainers, some of Yang Hsiang Wu's confederates were able to filter in among them, unsuspected by either group. The watchmen who struck the hours of the night were drugged by Yang's men, who then struck the watches early. This and a clever imitation of a rooster crow led the Prince to relax his vigilance thinking that the time had expired and that he had won. A diversion created at this moment gave Yang his chance to snatch the cup and escape unobserved.

The anger of the Prince waxed hot as the details of the plot by which he had been outwitted became apparent. The Grand Secretary departing urged the Prince not to be too angry with the miserable wretch who had resorted to these tricks to save his life.

As he approached the main gate of the Emperor's palace for the morning audience, the Grand Secretary was startled by a man who suddenly jumped down from a roof beside him. By the light of the lanterns he recognized Yang Hsiang Wu. In his outstretched hands Yang held K'ang Hsi's cup, begging him to restore it to the Emperor at his earliest convenience.

In the usual audience held at dawn, K'ang Hsi heard from his Grand Secretary the account of Yang Hsiang Wu's third successful theft of the Nine Dragon Jade Cup. A decree was issued fining Prince Ta Mu Su the amount of three months' allowance and ordering that this be given to the clever outlaws, for the Emperor concluded that they had earned this and their freedom too.

K'ANG HSI AND THE JESUITS

The Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan is also mentioned in connection with the Emperor's studies of European subjects with the Jesuit priests at his court. One of these missionaries writes in February, 1703, that K'ang Hsi had ordered Fathers Thomas, Gerbillon, and Bouvet to prepare treatises on arithmetic, Euclid, geometry, and philosophy in the Tartar language and that they went to the palace every day to spend two hours in the morning and two in the afternoon with the Emperor.

"The pleasure which he took in the first lessons which were given him was so great that when he went to his palace Tchan-tchun-yuen (Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan), which is two leagues from Peking, he did not interrupt his work. The Fathers were required to go every day at whatever time was set." This was a considerable hardship to them, as they had to start from their house in Peking at four in the morning and were not able to return until night. But the Emperor's interest was so great that he re-read their demonstrations, explained them to the princes, had solid spheres and cubes of wood made to test his calculations of their weight, measured geometrically the distances of places and heights of mountains, and continued these studies for four or five years.¹²

The Jesuits were also invited to the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan to see the fireworks at the New Year celebrations.¹³

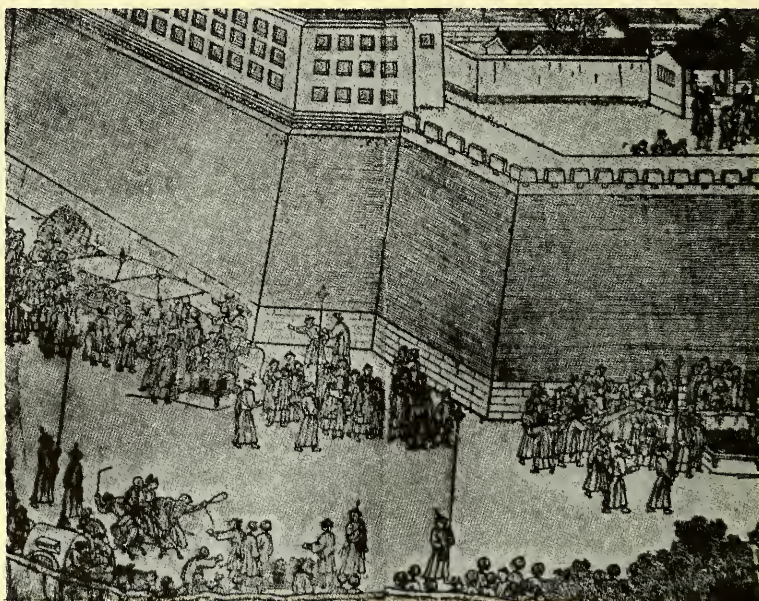
¹²*Lettres édifiantes*, recueil vii, 1707, pp. 186-89.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 251.

K'ANG HSI'S SIXTIETH BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION

K'ang Hsi's sixtieth birthday was celebrated in the spring of 1713. The sixtieth birthday is an unusually important occasion, for from earliest recorded antiquity the Chinese have counted time in cycles of sixty years, and still do so. The sixtieth birthday which marks the completion of a "cycle of Cathay" is thus as honorable as a golden wedding in the occident.

When the Emperor was on a journey at some distance from Peking not long before this happy occasion was to be celebrated, some officials and other citizens were preparing to build ornamental structures along

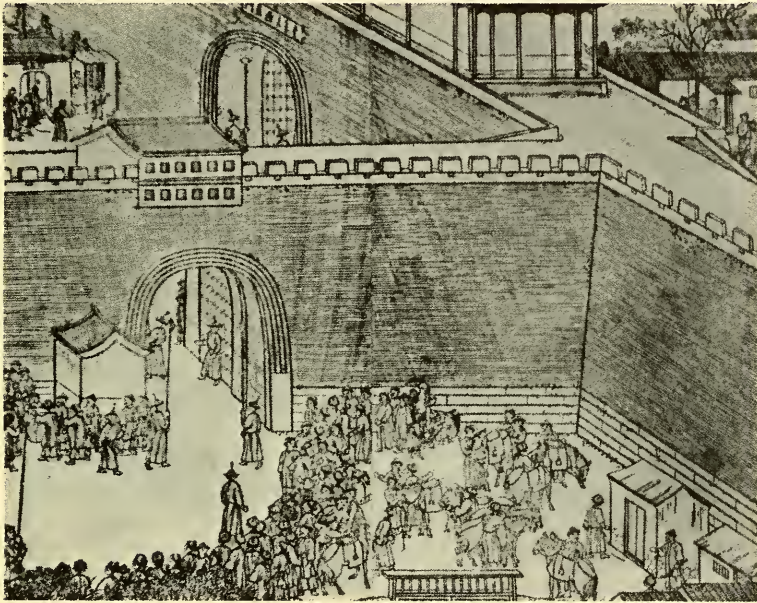


EMPEROR K'ANG HSI'S BIRTHDAY PROCESSION APPROACHING THE HSI CHIH MEN,
THE NORTHWEST GATE OF PEKING

The outer fortress in the barbican shows in the background. People are standing on both sides of the street which has been cleared of traffic. Two men riding one horse present a comic scene in the lower left corner. A soldier with a black whip has stopped the horse to keep it off the road, but the driver is beating the rear of the horse to hurry on. The men carrying long red poles with gilded symbols on them are in the procession which moves in two lines, one on each side of the road. Three tables of food are prepared to be distributed when the Emperor appears. *Note:* The right side of this picture fits the left side of the following picture.

the road by which he was expected to proceed from the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan up to his greater palace in Peking to receive congratulations. On his return he was not inclined to forbid these preparations but graciously

assented to a petition from his loyal subjects. This was to the effect that on the day before his birthday when he and the Empress Dowager and the Emperor's twenty-five sons and grandsons returned to Peking, he should proceed slowly in an open conveyance; that the roads be not cleared of people as usual when the Emperor traveled abroad, but that the officials and people be allowed to raise their eyes and look upon the face of the Son of Heaven; that the Emperor should have a feast prepared beside the road for thousands of people; and that the people in their delight be allowed to call out "Wan Sui," which means literally ten thousand years of life, or "Long Live the Emperor!"



EMPEROR K'ANG HSI'S BIRTHDAY PROCESSION ENTERING THE HSI CHIH MEN
The left side of this picture fits the right side of the preceding one.

The officials in Peking and throughout the Empire vied with one another in preparing decorations for the road by which His Majesty was to pass. They erected pavilions, *pailous*, or ornamental arches, porches for displaying lanterns and pictures and curios tastefully arranged on tables, flagpoles carrying fancy lanterns with long streamers attached, fences of lattice, bamboo, and evergreen, shrines where the place of honor was occupied by carved tablets inscribed with the characters *Wan Shou Wu Chiang*, meaning ten thousand years of life without end, or "O King, live forever!" and many, many open air theatres which the crowds liked

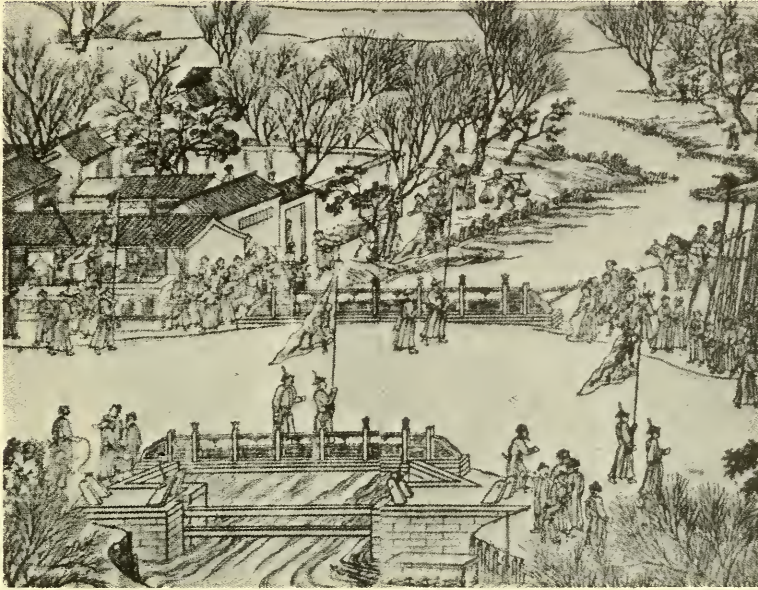
best of all. Felicitous verses and congratulatory addresses in honor of the Emperor were written on scrolls, inscribed over arches and worked out in paper flowers.

All these ornamental structures and more are depicted in a long picture which was completed two years later. It was drawn under the supervision of the artist Wang Yuan Ch'i, and later reproduced in a fascinating series of 148 wood block prints, 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches high, and 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches wide. These prints, if laid side by side, would form a continuous picture 162 feet long showing the whole course of the road about 8 miles long from the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan to the Palace Gate in Peking. As they are printed and bound in the *Wan Shou Sheng Tien*,¹⁴ the pictures begin at the north gate of the Palace in the Forbidden City. The first half of the pictures show the road with all its turns and landmarks to the Hsi Chih Men. As this part of the journey is not primarily concerned with the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan, it will be sufficient to mention the most conspicuous features which are not found in the part outside the city. These are the walls and moats of the Forbidden City, the Pei Hai, or North Lake in the palace grounds, with its White Pagoda, Round Wall, and marble bridges surprisingly like those of today, elephants waiting by the road near the west gate of the Imperial City, the cross roads at the West Four *Pailous*, and the procession, evidently that of the Empress Dowager and her retinue who are receiving the homage of the people near the Hsi Chih Men. There are some splendid views of this northwest gate of the city, through which the foremost of the members of the Emperor's procession are entering. The progressive action of the crowds and the procession, seen as we turn from one page of the picture to another, produces a vivid sense of motion, dignified and restrained, yet impressive and real.

The second half of the scroll begins at the outside fortress of the Hsi Chih Men, the great Northwest Gate of Peking. Pedestrians are allowed to stand and watch the plays as performed on the many stages by the roadside. Carriers of gilded pole-axes on red poles—if the colors were the same then as now,—are crossing the bridge over the moat. Decorated *pailous* are constructed at both ends of the bridge, and the bearers of the old triangular dragon flags, walking two by two along the sides of the road, are having difficulty getting their flags through the side arches of the *pailou*. The middle of the road is left empty. There are more ornamented *pailous* at every crossroad. The shop fronts through the suburb are covered with decorations and just beyond the Kao Liang Bridge, which shows plainly, there are more theaters and temples and crowds of people in their holiday best. The sets, theaters, and decorations from Hsi

¹⁴The title means the complete records of the imperial birthday. Cf. p. 239 for bibliographical note on this book.

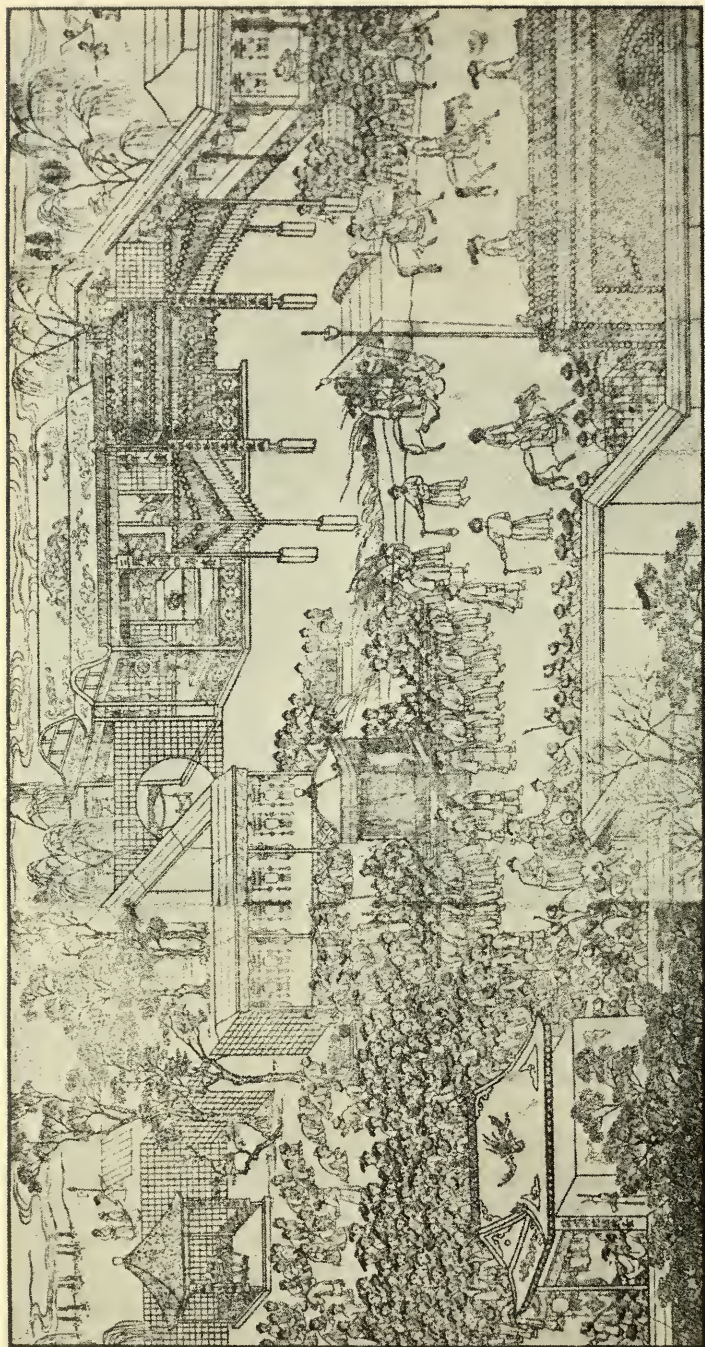
Chih Men to Hai Tien are erected largely by the Manchu Banner officers and the officials from various provinces. They seem to extend in an unbroken line on both sides of the road, though probably there really were considerable spaces between some of these flowery structures. After dozens of pairs of men carrying poles and banners and fans and other symbols have passed, mounted archers ride by. This is the time for everyone present, men, women, and children, actors on the stages, officials, and subjects, to kneel. After the archers, come musicians, men bearing swing-



EMPEROR K'ANG HSI'S BIRTHDAY PROCESSION CROSSING THE KAO LIANG BRIDGE
NEAR HSI CHIH MEN

Dragon flags are being carried in the procession. Some of the boards in the sluice at the bridge are raised letting more water flow under the bridge. A small boat is tied to a pole in the foreground. The bridge in this picture is made small in proportion to the human figures which are the center of interest throughout the picture. Houses, gates, walls, trees and other objects are similarly treated elsewhere.

ing censers, a horseman who bears a parcel tied to his back and rides in the middle of the road, in the manner of the bearer of an imperial edict or the seal of state, high officials on horseback and a ceremonial canopy. Then comes the Emperor's own conveyance borne on the shoulders of twenty-eight men. It is a platform surmounted by a high canopy and mounted by steps, which are carried separately by two men. The curtains are open in front so that the people may see the countenance of their Sovereign, even if the artist does not draw him. The people here are not



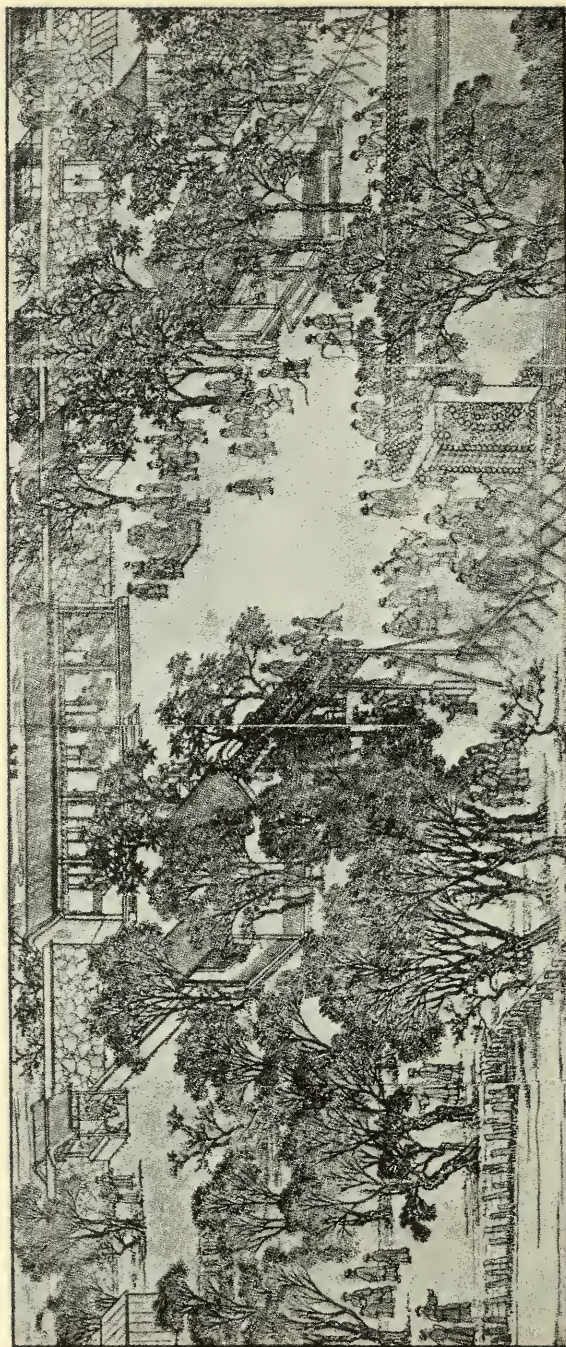
EMPEROR K'ANG HSI'S PALANQUIN IN HIS BIRTHDAY PROCESSION

The Emperor's chair is borne on the shoulders of twenty-eight men. Two men carrying censers walk before him. The steps to the palanquin are carried on one side by two men. In the central foreground some little princes are shown distributing the peach-shaped bread to the people and are followed by eunuchs carrying more plates of bread. The people are kneeling, but when the Emperor is actually passing them they also bow on their hands. A horseman carries a state parasol before the Emperor's palanquin. The ornamental structures in the background are erected temporarily just for this occasion.

only kneeling but also bowing on both hands in the presence of His Majesty. Beside the Emperor's carriage walk officials with round dragon *p'u tzus*, or embroidered medallions, indicating rank, which are sewed on their garments. These would seem to be princes, for the common officials have only the square *p'u tzus*, with bird designs for the civil officers and animals for the military. Behind the Emperor walk hundreds of military and a few civil officials. Standing every few yards along the street all the way from the Palace gate in Peking there have been tables piled with food. The food appears to be a sweet steamed bread, made in the shape of the Chinese pointed peaches, a symbol for longevity. Beside the Emperor's carriage two of the little princes are passing plates of this food to the people who eagerly reach out for the imperial bounty. Behind these princes other men, probably palace eunuchs, pass more plates of it to the outstretched hands. When the rear guard of archers on foot drawn up in a semi-circle, like their arrangement in hunting, has passed, some of the people grab for the fragments of food which remain on the ground and the guards with the black whips drive them back. More archers on horseback follow and then hundreds of grooms leading the horses of the officials who respectfully walk in the Emperor's presence. When the procession has passed, people and carts come upon the road again and the theaters continue their performances.

At the east end of the town of Hai Tien there are porches of pictures, showing, on one side of the road, agricultural operations and on the other, weaving. These remind one of the "Painted Porch" in the market place of ancient Athens. At the crossroads on the main street there are several *pailous* and on the street leading north to the temple, Ch'ing Fan Ssu, several more. Here the shop fronts are concealed behind a continuous row of pictures of men, presumably sages or immortals. Canopies cover these, and before them there is a sort of table or shelf on which flower vases, incense burners, and other ornaments are arranged. The superintendent of the imperial palace and the eunuchs have furnished the decorations at Ch'ing Fan Ssu.

The main road to the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan, however, runs west from the crossroads in Hai Tien and northwest to the gate of this imperial garden. After crossing a little stone bridge, and passing under a flowery *pailou*, the stone road comes out on the esplanade before the main gate, which is named in the picture. Kneeling on mats in the gate building itself are an officer and about 15 soldiers of the guard. On both sides near the gate stand two grotesque lions on high pedestals. Two smaller gates for eunuchs and officials pierce the wall at the right and left of the main gate. Waiting rooms stand both east and west of the esplanade, and behind the one on the east the bell tower rises among the trees. A tempo-



THE GATE OF THE CH'ANG CH'UN YUAN

The road from Peking comes in at the right just beyond the "spirit walls" of which there are two in this case, the permanent one and a temporary one covered with paper flowers, like the *pailou* just to the left of it. Two bronze lions, one of them partly obscured by the trees, guard the gate. Over the middle of the gate are written the Chinese characters for Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan. The gate is a building of five *chien*, and kneeling soldiers are on guard. Smaller entrances for the eunuchs are seen at the right and left of the central gate. People are strolling about on the esplanade where soldiers armed with whips and swords keep order. The bell hanging in the bell tower is seen among the trees at the right. (From *Wan Shou Sheng Tien*, Vol. XLII, Nos. 71-72.)

rary "spirit wall" decorated with artificial flowers has been put up directly in front of the permanent brick one opposite the main gate.

A little west of the main gate there are two bridges over the streams in the same positions which they occupy today. Northwest of these is the greenhouse where flowers and dwarf trees are being arranged in pots and trays for palace use. Beyond this the landscape fades off toward the west into trees and flat country and mist.

The most remarkable thing about this contemporary portrait of the life in K'ang Hsi's day is its striking similarity to that of Peking today in the exterior and interior arrangements of the shops, the use of flowers and verses in decoration, in the devotion of the people to the theater, and the orderly crowds. The chief landmarks of Peking and the old granite road to Hai Tien are still the same. The artist has actually reduced these somewhat in scale to bring out the real human interest of the celebration, the activities of the people whom he portrays with sympathy, understanding, and some humor. Evidences of dilapidation are conspicuous by their absence. This may be due either to the desire of the artist to paint a pleasing picture, or to the cleaning up for the celebration, or to the more flourishing condition of the people in the days of the benevolent despot K'ang Hsi, before the decline of Manchu power and authority set in. This sixtieth birthday celebration of K'ang Hsi set a high standard for such celebrations in his own reign, and for later reigns.

AN ENGLISHMAN AT K'ANG HSI'S COURT

In the *Travels* of John Bell, an English physician, who accompanied the Russian embassy under Ismailoff to Peking in 1720, and in the *Journal* of De Lange who went with Ismailoff and remained at Peking until July, 1722, there are found vivid detailed descriptions of several audiences which the aged Emperor granted the members of this embassy in his country villa, the Garden of Joyful Springtime. That Bell calls the palace Tzan-shu-yang, and De Lange calls it Czchan-zchumnienne, may seem surprising until it is realized that these travelers evidently got their ideas of the pronunciation of Chinese words chiefly from the Mongols, Manchus, European priests, and Russians, and that this was long before the Wade system of romanization became generally used. Their description of the palace and its location leave no room for doubt that the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan is the palace described.

After a journey of sixteen months from St. Petersburg, the embassy had arrived in Peking in November, 1720.¹⁵ The story of the first audience on November 28th can best be told in Bell's own words:¹⁶

¹⁵Bell, *Travels*, vol. i, p. 435.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 6-16.

On the 28th, the day appointed for the ambassador's public audience of the Emperor, horses were brought to our lodgings for the ambassador and his retinue; the Emperor being then at a country house called Tzan-shu-yang, about six miles westward from Peking. We mounted at eight in the morning, and about ten arrived at court, where we alighted at the gate, which was guarded by a strong party of soldiers. The commanding officer conducted us into a large room, where we drank tea, and stayed about half an hour, till the Emperor was ready to receive us. We then entered a spacious court, inclosed with high brick walls, and regularly planted with several rows of forest-trees, about eight inches in diameter, which I took to be limes. The walks were spread with small gravel; and the great walk is terminated by the Hall of Audience, behind which are the Emperor's private apartments. On each side of the great walk are fine flower plots and canals. As we advanced we found all the ministers of state, and officers belonging to the court, seated upon fur cushions, cross-legged, before the hall, in the open air; among these, places were appointed for the ambassador and his retinue and in this situation we remained in a cold and frosty morning, till the Emperor came into the hall. During this interval, there were only two or three servants in the hall, and not the least noise was heard from any quarter. The entry to the hall is by seven marble steps, the whole length of the building. The floor is finely paved with a neat checker work of white and black marble. The edifice is quite open on the south; and the roof supported by a row of handsome wooden pillars, octangular and finely polished.

After we had waited about a quarter of an hour, the Emperor entered the hall at a back door, and seated himself upon the throne; upon which all the company stood.

Bell goes on to tell how the Master of Ceremonies led the ambassador into the hall where he delivered his credentials. He did not place these upon a table, as would have been usual, but walked up to the throne, and, kneeling, laid them before the Emperor, who touched them with his hand, and inquired after "his Czarish Majesty's" health. When the ambassador had again taken his place the whole company made obeisance nine times to the Emperor.

At every third time we stood up, and kneeled again. Great pains were taken to avoid this piece of homage, but without success. The master of ceremonies stood by, and delivered his orders in the Tartar language, by pronouncing the words *morgu* and *boss*; the first meaning to bow, and the other to stand; two words which I cannot soon forget.

After this ceremony six gentlemen of the ambassador's retinue were brought to seats within the hall nearer to the Emperor, and the Emperor taking the ambassador by the hand, talked with him familiarly, even sending advice to Peter the Great of whose daring he had heard.

Among other things, he told him, that he was informed his Czarish Majesty exposed his person to many dangers, particularly by water, at which he was much surprised, but desired that he would take the advice of an old man, and not hazard his life, by committing himself to the rage of the merciless waves and winds, where no valor could avail.

A gold cup full of *terassun*, a sweet fermented liquor, was given to the ambassador by the Emperor. The liquor was passed also to the other members of his retinue and to three Jesuit missionaries who frequently attended the court and who accompanied the Russians on this occasion.

The Emperor sat cross-legged on his throne. He was dressed in a short loose coat of sable, having the fur outward, lined with lamb-skin, under which he wore a long tunic of yellow silk, interwoven with figures of golden dragons with five claws; which device no person is allowed to bear except the imperial family. On his head was a little round cap, faced with black fox-skin; on the top of which I observed a large beautiful pearl, in the shape of a pear, which, together with a tassel of red silk tied below the pearl, was all the ornament I saw about this mighty monarch. The throne also was very simple, being made of wood, but of neat workmanship. It is raised five easy steps from the floor, is open towards the company, but has a large japanned screen on each side to defend it from the wind.

Bell also reports the presence of five sons and eight or ten grandsons of the Emperor, officers of state, a few officers of the imperial household in robes of gold and silver stuff with monstrous dragons on their backs and breasts, and musicians to furnish music during the dinner. Dignity and orderliness were what impressed Bell, rather than magnificence, which is an interesting testimony to the genuineness of K'ang Hsi's motto, frugality.

By this time the hall was pretty full; and what is surprising, there was not the least noise, hurry, or confusion. Everyone perfectly knows his own business; and the thick paper soles of the Chinese boots prevent any noise from their walking the floor.¹⁷ By these means everything goes on with great regularity, but at the same time with wonderful quickness. In short, the characteristic of the court of Peking is order and decency, rather than grandeur and magnificence.¹⁸

When noon came neat little tables, covered with a variety of fruits and confections, were placed before the guests. This serving of the dessert first was an example of many ways in which the behavior of the Chinese seems to Bell to be quite contrary to that of the Europeans. Fowls, mutton, and pork followed, and the Emperor sent several dishes from his own table to the ambassador. Besides the regular musicians there were special performers with songs, dances, tumbling, wrestling, and fencing. At the retirement of the Emperor the Russian embassy also mounted and returned to the city, "so well satisfied with the gracious and friendly reception of the Emperor, that all our former hardships were almost forgot."

¹⁷He seems to have mistaken the cloth soles for paper.

¹⁸Bell spoke later of the throne room in the palace in Peking as "more magnificent than that at Tzan-shu Yang, but like it plain and unornamented."

On December 2d, the ambassador was granted a second audience at the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan when the Emperor viewed the presents from Peter the Great. The third and fourth audiences were in the palace inside the city. On the 15th of December the Ambassador went again to the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan taking with him his musicians with their violins, trumpets, and kettle drums, at the special invitation of the Emperor. The instruments entertained ten or twelve grandsons of the Emperor. On this same occasion the Russians were given a glimpse of the gardens.

The music being over, the Emperor ordered one of the princes to conduct the ambassador into the gardens belonging to the palace; into which we entered, along a drawbridge, over a canal of pure water. They abounded with shaded walks, arbours, and fish ponds, in the Chinese taste. The young princes entertained themselves by shooting with bows and arrows. Some of them displayed great dexterity, being accustomed from their infancy to this exercise.¹⁹

It would be interesting to know if the eleven-year-old prince who later, when he was emperor, could hit the target nineteen out of twenty times, was among them.

On the occasion of another private audience at the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan the Emperor and ambassador conversed of history, of the inventions of the "loadstone," printing, and gunpowder, and of the comparative antiquity of the Biblical and Chinese records. Bell adds:

I cannot omit taking notice of the good nature and affability of this ancient monarch on all occasions. Though he was now in the eightieth year of his age, and sixtieth of his reign, he still retained a sound judgment, and senses entire; and to me seemed more sprightly than many of the princes, his sons.²⁰

From January 29th to February 3d the Russian ambassador lodged in a house near the palace of Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan, and attended several of the Chinese New Year festivities. On one of these occasions when the Chinese kotowed the Russian embassy were permitted to make their compliments in their own fashion. The stiff-kneed British physician writes of this occasion: "It seemed somewhat strange to a Briton, to see some thousands of people upon their knees, and bowing their heads to the ground, in most humble posture to a mortal like themselves."

The most unique of all the entertainments of this period for the foreigners was the fireworks. These seem to have been shown in the West Flower Garden, next to the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan, and began in the evening. "On our arrival, we were conducted through a garden, westward from the palace, in the middle of which stood a large building, with covered galleries all around. Before the house was a canal, having over it a drawbridge. We took our places on the gravel walk, just under the gallery,

¹⁹Bell, *Travels*, vol. ii, pp. 43-45.

²⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 56-68. Bell was mistaken. K'ang Hsi was only 67 years old at this time.

where the Emperor sat with his wives and family."²¹ The Kutuchtu, or living Buddha from Mongolia, was in his tent hard by, but did not appear outside of it. "All the Grandees and officers of state were seated on their cushions along the bank of the canal. The machinery for the fireworks was placed on the other side of the canal; and nobody was permitted to go thither, except the people who managed it."

About five of the clock a signal was given for beginning to play off the fireworks, by a rocket let fly from the gallery where the Emperor sat; and in the space of a few minutes, many thousand lanterns were lighted. These lanterns were made of paper of different colours, red, blue, green, and yellow, and hung on posts about six feet high, scattered over all the garden.

Opposite to the gallery where the Emperor sat was suspended a large round vessel, about twenty feet in diameter, between two posts about thirty feet high. A rocket sent from the gallery lighted a match, hanging from the vessel, which immediately caused the bottom of it to drop down with a loud noise. Then fell out a lattice of grate-work, all on fire, and hung between the vessel and the ground burning furiously, in various colours.

When this had burned for some minutes, another fuse appeared and let drop from the vessel above thirty paper lanterns in a line, and when these had burned for a time, ten or twelve pillars dropped down, and so on until one thousand lanterns had fallen from this same vessel. Bell frankly expressed his admiration for the artist who had packed this immense number of lanterns into the hanging vessel and the certainty with which the complicated display worked.²²

The fireworks the next day included flaming pictures in frames about thirty feet high, streams of white and blue fire in imitation of water, and fire rising from an urn on a hilltop to a prodigious height. Bell concludes by saying: "Besides these, there were exhibited, on this occasion, many other ingenious designs of fireworks, which far surpassed anything of the kind I ever saw, though I have been present at performances of this nature exhibited at St. Petersburg by the best artists of Europe."

On the next day K'ang Hsi told the ambassador that although fireworks had been known in China for more than two thousand years, he himself had made many improvements upon them and had brought them to their present perfection. He even included two chests of rockets in the presents which he sent back to Peter the Great.²³

In March, John Bell set out with the ambassador to return to Europe,

²¹Bell makes one other reference to the presence of ladies at a court function on the occasion when the ambassador's musicians played for the Emperor. "No ladies were to be seen though I believe several of them were behind a screen, at the other end of the room."

²²The writer has seen just such a "vessel," though of smaller size, eight feet, perhaps, instead of twenty, as a part of the fireworks displayed at Tsing Hua University to celebrate the anniversary of the Revolution of 1911.

²³Bell, *Travels*, vol. ii, pp. 75-88, 89.

well satisfied with his view of both Russia and China at their best. "For never, perhaps, were those countries in a more flourishing condition than under the famous emperors, Kamhi and Peter the First; and, perhaps, such another conjuncture of circumstances may not happen for several ages."²⁴

DE LANGE'S ACCOUNT

De Lange, who was left in Peking for a year and four months longer to finish the negotiations for commercial relations between the two countries, saw several more incidents which illustrate the life at the court of the Emperor, whom he calls by the Mongol title Bogdoi-Chan. The first of these was the preparation for the celebration of the Emperor's birthday, and the Emperor's anger at the officials when he went to the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan on March 15, 1721.

But having observed, in his passing, that the triumphal arches, and other like ornaments, which are raised on his birthday, on both sides of the grand road, paved with square flat stones, that reaches from Peking to Czchan-zchumienne, were not of the usual magnificence, all the ministry were disgraced for many weeks. Upon which, the ministers, having instantly ordered the demolition of all that had been built, caused to be built up anew, from the palace of the Emperor at Peking quite to Czchan-zchumienne, a great number of triumphal arches, and of most magnificent columns, of an exquisite taste, all embellished with gildings, and festoons of all sorts of rich silks, of most lively figures and colours. At the same time, in several places, they erected theatres of great beauty, where the most able comedians exerted their talents, in representing the most difficult and curious parts of their professions accompanied with the grandest concerts of music, both vocal and instrumental, diversified with the amusements of dancing, and feats of uncommon agility. All these entertainments being prepared, the ministers went in a body to the imperial palace, supplicated the monarch on their knees, with their faces prostrate to the ground, that he would be pleased to admit them to his good graces, and that he would be pleased to send some, in whom he could confide, to examine their new structures. But the Bogdoi-Chan ordered them to be told, "That he would see nothing of what they had done, and that he would never celebrate his birthday at Peking more, for that he was as much Emperor of China at Czchan-zchumienne as he should be though sitting on the imperial throne at Peking."

Being still displeased with his ministers the Emperor did not celebrate his birthday April 2, 1721, with the usual magnificence, but only received the ordinary compliments of the court. De Lange who was present narrates one remarkable feature of this occasion, namely:

. . . three thousand old men, the youngest of which was above sixty years old, which by express order of the Emperor, had been brought to Peking from all the provinces of the empire. They were all dressed in yellow, which is the

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 153.

colour of the imperial liveries, and marched in parade to Czchan-zchumienne, where they ranged themselves in the court of the castle, and had the honor of making their compliments to the Emperor; after which His Majesty distributed to everyone, without distinction four laen²⁵ of silver, and sent them home.

Sixty-four years later the Emperor Ch'ien Lung similarly entertained 3000 old men in his palace and recalled being present at this entertainment in the days of his grandfather.²⁶

The third feature of the life at the gardens which De Lange noted took place in February, 1722.

The 18th and 19th His Majesty caused the celebration of the feast of lanterns, which had been annually celebrated at the court of China for above 2000 years. This feast was solemnized at Czchan-zchumienne with great magnificence. During the grand entertainment, which was that day at court, they represented all sorts of plays, and other diverting shows; and, at night, they exhibited grand fireworks; which, joined to so many illuminations, and to the prodigious quantity of lanterns, adorned with figures, and diversified with all sorts of colors, caused a surprising agreeable view, during the darkness of the night.²⁷

FOUNDING OF THE YUAN MING YUAN, 1709

In 1709, on the plain a half mile north of the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan, K'ang Hsi began the building of a garden palace for his fourth son, who later succeeded him as Emperor Yung Cheng. The new palace, which was to eclipse the fame of the Garden of Joyful Springtime, was named by the Emperor, who with his own hand wrote the three large characters which were carved over the Great Gate of the Palace, Yuan Ming Yuan. These characters, which mean literally Round Bright Garden, or Garden of Perfect Brightness, are explained by the Emperor Yung Cheng. The word *Round* or *Perfect*, refers to the character of the perfect gentleman; the word *Bright*, or *Brightness*, refers to his brightening the lives of others.²⁸ In K'ang Hsi's reign, however, this garden was the residence of only a prince.

²⁵Liang, ounces or taels.

²⁶*Mémoires concernant l'histoire des Chinois*, vol. xii, p. 515. Letter of Father Amiot, dated 15, October, 1785.

²⁷Bell, *Travels*, vol. ii, pp. 358-59. For another description of the fireworks at the feast of lanterns in the court of K'ang Hsi cf. Sirr, *China and the Chinese*, vol. ii, pp. 32-34. Father Ripa, a Catholic missionary but not a Jesuit, who spent several years at the court of K'ang Hsi, described the fireworks, and many other features of the life at the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan. Cf. Ripa, *Memoirs of Father Ripa*, pp. 47-130.

²⁸*Jih Hsia*, vol. lxxx; *Yü Chih Yuan Ming Yuan T'u Yung*, Yung Cheng's Record. Cf. also pp. 51-53, 64, 72, 77-80, below. It is also possible that the circular arrangement of the Nine Islands around the lake may have suggested the word "Round."

K'ANG HSI'S FAMILY TROUBLES AND DEATH

Emperor K'ang Hsi's desire to enjoy the pleasures of family life in this quiet retreat was sadly disappointed. He was devoted to his mother, the Empress Dowager, daughter of a Mongol Duke, a really remarkable old lady who died in 1718. Although he was a success as an emperor and as a son, he was a failure as a father. The enormous size of his family may help to explain this. He had thirty-five sons, of whom twenty-four grew to manhood. In his will he said: "I am the father and root of 150 sons and grandsons. My daughters must be more numerous still."²⁹ The outrageous conduct of the heir apparent, his second son, had resulted in his degradation and imprisonment in 1709. From that time on to the day of K'ang Hsi's death no heir apparent was designated, but the intrigues and factions which aimed at placing one or the other of the sons on the throne brought their venerable father's gray hairs in sorrow to the grave.³⁰

The end came in December, 1722. The Emperor, suddenly taken ill, while on a hunting expedition in the South Hunting Park, returned to the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan where he died at the age of sixty-eight, after a reign of sixty-one years. His fourth son succeeded him and a few days later followed the remains of the old Emperor from the country palace, which he had loved so well, to their temporary resting place in the Forbidden City.

²⁹*Encyclopedia Sinica*, article on "K'ang Hsi"; Backhouse and Bland, *Annals*, p. 245.

³⁰Backhouse and Bland, *Annals*, chap. x.

CHAPTER III

THE REIGN OF YUNG CHENG

STORIES OF HIS ACCESSION

Several stories regarding the accession of Emperor Yung Cheng are laid in his father's villa, the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan.

The account which makes Yung Cheng's accession perfectly regular tells us that the Emperor K'ang Hsi had returned sick from the South Hunting Park to this country palace. Six days later, when he was growing worse, he ordered that his fourth son, who had gone to perform the sacrifices at the Temple of Heaven, be summoned quickly. But before this son could arrive seven of his other sons together with a trusted official, Lung K'o To, were called to his bedside. So far the Emperor had not designated any of them as heir to his throne. Now in the presence of these princes and Lung K'o To he said: "The Fourth Prince has a rare disposition, and an excellent character, which is just according to my desire. He is well able to receive and hold the great bequest. Let him ascend the throne." The Fourth Prince arrived several hours before the Emperor died, and on his death was accepted as Emperor Yung Cheng.¹

But at the time there were several other stories which seriously reflect on Yung Cheng's character and which allege that he got the throne which K'ang Hsi intended for his fourteenth son by a trick. Some of the most extreme of these represent Yung Cheng as an illegitimate child, as bad from childhood, addicted to drink, an associate of low companions, sworn brother in a band of thirteen swordsmen and strong-arm men. The Fourth Prince studied their tricks, and was not in favor with his father. But the Fourteenth Prince was virtuous, intelligent, brave and straightforward, a commander of the imperial troops in their campaigns in the northwest where he was loved by all the people.

When K'ang Hsi returned sick from the South Hunting Park to the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan he wrote with his own hand a secret memorandum to be opened only at his death in which he said: "Let the throne pass to my fourteenth son." The Fourth Prince learned of the existence of this edict, managed to steal it, and secretly changed it to read, "Let the throne pass to my fourth son." The Fourth Prince then took the edict on his own person into the bedroom of the dying Emperor, giving strict orders not to let any of his brothers enter the palace grounds. The Emperor

¹Backhouse and Bland, *Annals*, p. 269.

rallied enough to order the great officials to be summoned to his bedside. When no one came, he lifted his head, saw the Fourth Prince alone in the room with him, and realized that he had been tricked. In impotent rage he threw a string of prayer beads at his son who with hypocritical deference begged his forgiveness. The end came soon: the late Emperor had become "a guest on High." The Fourth Prince coming out announced that he had received the imperial command to succeed to the throne and in addition to the altered decree he produced the Emperor's prayer beads as proof. In spite of their uncertainty as to the truth of his claims, the officials accepted him as the Emperor Yung Cheng. A variation of this story has it that the dying Emperor wrote the words "fourteenth son" on the hand of Lung K'o To, who simply erased the first figure of the numeral for 14, changing it to "fourth son."

While there are some substantial reasons for doubting the regularity of Yung Cheng's succession, many of the tales told about this event are palpably false, and there is much uncertainty about the whole event. A few facts, however, seem clear. After the degradation of the heir apparent in 1708, there were among the twenty-four sons of Emperor K'ang Hsi who grew to manhood various parties and plots to secure the succession for this or that prince, and these greatly troubled the old Emperor. It was expected that he would appoint his fourteenth son as his successor,² but he did not actually designate a successor until he was dying in 1722. It is also true that the Emperor Yung Cheng kept some of his brothers in prison during most of his reign, put some of them to death and finally beheaded Lung K'o To, his alleged accomplice, whom he had greatly honored at first. In these circumstances it would be very easy for libels against Yung Cheng to arise, and also easy for the Emperor to cover up the proof of his guilt. There seems to be no satisfactory proof available for the falsity or truth of the allegations.³

Among the brothers and nephews of Yung Cheng who were imprisoned by him, was K'ang Hsi's fourteenth son, brother to Yung Cheng by both his father and mother, the prince who had been disappointed, to say the least, in his hopes for the throne. Father Parrenin writing from Peking in 1736, after the death of Yung Cheng says that their mother loved the Fourteenth Prince who was absent with his armies in Mongolia, better than she did the son who became Emperor. In regard to Yung Cheng's treatment of this brother he says:

As soon as the new Emperor was on the throne, he despatched to Tartary courier after courier in the name of the deceased Emperor, as if he had

²Bell, *Travels*, vol. ii, p. 124.

³Chinese historians are at a loss as to what to believe. Cf. *Ch'ing Tai T'ung Shih*, vol. i, chap. 12, p. 64. The story of the usurpation in a garbled form appeared in Davis, *The Chinese*, vol. ii, pp. 359, 364, from Padre Serra, the last Portuguese Jesuit in Peking, who was sent away in 1827.

still been alive, ordering him to deliver his seals to those who were named for that purpose, and moreover to return to Peking with few followers to discuss a matter of the utmost importance. The prince obeyed and did not understand why he was sent for until he was only three days journey from the court. Then there was no chance to turn back; he came, and found his brother on the throne, who sent him to guard the tomb of their father, where he could content himself with observing his conduct closely; for his mother was still living. But no sooner had she died, an event which happened soon afterwards, than he was ordered to return to Peking,⁴ and then he was sent to *Tchang chun yuen*⁵ where he was locked up very closely, with no communication with outside, not even with his son Poki, who was put into a separate prison.⁶

The Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan continued to be the prison of the Fourteenth Prince till the accession of Ch'ien Lung. Local tradition has it that Yung Cheng's mother lived, not in the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan, but in the West Flower Garden adjacent to it.⁷

On the site of K'ang Hsi's private sleeping and dining apartments in the extreme northeast corner of the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan, his son, Yung Cheng, erected a temple to his memory and hung his portrait there. In the main hall the San Shih Fo, or Buddha of Three Worlds, presided; in the hall on the left, the God of Medicine; and in that on the right, the Measureless Buddha. The walls and gates of these buildings were adorned with inscriptions written by Yung Cheng, and some were added later by Ch'ien Lung. This temple was called the En Yu Ssu, or Temple of Gracious Aid. It became the pattern for another, the En Mu Ssu, or Temple of Gracious Memory, which stands just beside it, built by Ch'ien Lung in 1777 in honor of his mother who had lived in the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan. But in 1743 the portrait of K'ang Hsi had been removed from the En Yu Ssu to the An Yu Kung, the new ancestral shrine which Ch'ien Lung had built in the northwest corner of the Yuan Ming Yuan.⁸ The fronts of these two old temples and their spirit walls still stand, the only conspicuous remains of the old Ch'ang Chun Yuan. They were repaired by Yenching University in 1926-27.

THE YUAN MING YUAN

Emperor Yung Cheng's own record of the Yuan Ming Yuan begins with a brief account of his father's garden at Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan and of how a spot already well supplied with streams and trees, not far north of the Emperor's own garden, was granted to him when he was still a

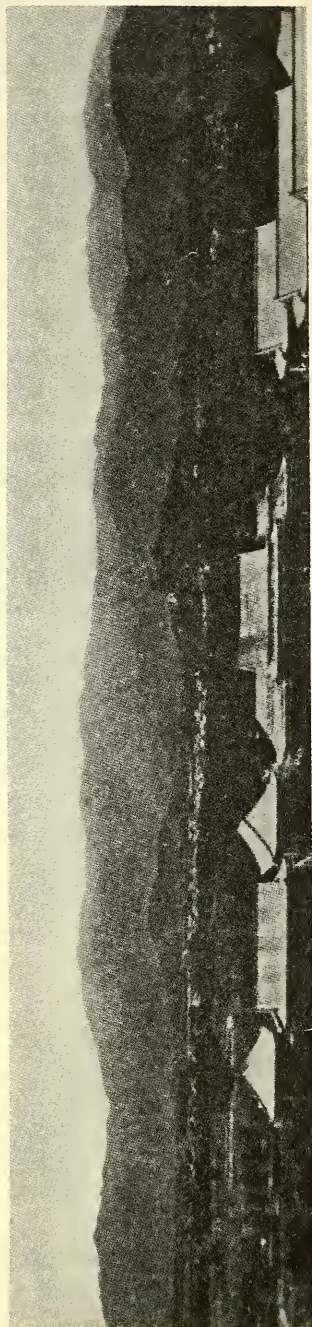
⁴From the Eastern Tombs, where K'ang Hsi was buried.

⁵Meaning Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan.

⁶*Lettres édifiantes*, 1738 edition, vol. xxiii, p. 20 ff.; Boulger, *History of China*, vol. i, p. 647.

⁷Told the writer by Wen Ch'i Ju. Cf. appendix ii.

⁸*Jih Hsia*, vol. lxxvi, pp. 19-20.



THE SUMMER PALACE REGION AS SEEN FROM THE PAGODA AT YENCHING UNIVERSITY

Looking westward over the roofs of the new university buildings in 1927. The administration building is in the center, library and science halls on the left, and dormitories on the right. Beyond these are shown parts of the grounds of the five chief garden-palaces. The ruins of the Yuan Ming Yuan lie obscured by the trees of other nearer gardens on the extreme right. The Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan, Emperor K'ang Hsi's villa, occupied the open space on the extreme left in the middle distance, and beyond the shrines, En Mu Ssu and En Yu Ssu, the red walls of which show dark in the foreground among the trees. The Wan Shou Shan is the dark hill in the middle distance a little to the right of the center. Beyond it and to the left is the Jade Fountain Hill crowned with a tall pagoda. The Hsiang Shan is directly behind the tall pagoda, one of the distant mountains. Between the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan and the Wan Shou Shan appear the roofs of the barracks built in 1909 for the Imperial Guard. The K'un Ming Lake in the New Summer Palace appears as a long white line occasionally interrupted by trees. Across the lake rises the white marble arch of the Jade Girdle Bridge.

prince. Here full advantage was taken of the uneven land in laying out the prince's grounds and buildings which were built in 1709. "When the garden was completed," wrote Yung Cheng, "it was named Yuan Ming Yuan by my father. He wrote the words on a wooden tablet to be hung over the entrance and presented it to me. When he came to see the garden I received him joyfully. Trees, flowers, and streams all seemed glad and brighter for his coming."⁹

Yung Cheng also explains that he was so busy with affairs of state that he had no time to come to this garden during the first three years of his reign. As this was the time prescribed for mourning for a parent, he may have thought that it was improper to spend his time in a pleasure garden during that period, which is in practice shortened to twenty-seven months. After the period of mourning Yung Cheng had his garden repaired and on the south side an audience hall and offices erected suitable for carrying on the business of government. Thus the Yuan Ming Yuan became the residence of the new emperor, instead of the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan, where Yung Cheng built the memorial temple to his father, where his mother still lived, and where after the death of his mother he imprisoned his brother.

By imperial decree in 1724 the stone road outside Hsi Chih Men was to be repaired as far as the Kao Liang Bridge at the public expense, and the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan Stone Road, which evidently was the name of the road from the Kao Liang Bridge, was to be repaired at the private expense of the Emperor. By 1732 the stone road, which then extended to the new palace, was called the Yuan Ming Yuan Stone Road instead of the name it bore earlier.¹⁰

Willow trees were to be planted beside this road and also beside the unpaved road which led from the Te Sheng Men to Hai Tien. It is amusing to read how the neglect by the guards, or squeeze by the petty officials, or both, were able to frustrate the will of this mighty sovereign. With an earnestness worthy of a noble cause he stormed and fumed because his willows did not thrive. In six different years, from 1724 to 1732, he issued edicts on the subject. The trees planted by his palace gates were growing well but those by the roads were withered, broken, stolen, and not replaced. The local officials were required to station guards, and the trees were to be watered every five days. At last he commanded that the officials responsible be fined and that the trees be replaced by other officials.

A letter from a Jesuit missionary records another scolding administered to his officials by Emperor Yung Cheng and some further information on the Emperor's attitude toward his pleasure grounds:

⁹*Ibid.*, vol. lxxx; *Yü Chih Yuan Ming Yuan T'u Yung*, vol. i, p. 1.

¹⁰*Ta Ch'ing Hui Tien*, Kung Pu, Chiao Tao.

The Emperor leaves his palace in Peking from time to time to go to his pleasure house called *Yuen ming yuen*, which is two leagues from this capital. But when he retires there, he wishes business to be dispatched and his officials to come as usual to present petitions and memorials as if he were in Peking itself. One day when he went to the hall where he is accustomed to give audience, there was no one to present anything to him. He then had the princes and great men who were on duty for the day" come before him and spoke to them in these terms: "Today I have come as my custom is, to sit in the hall *King tching tien*"¹² to receive reports and to give audience, but no official of the Boards nor of the Eight Banners presented himself to speak to me of business. I have reflected that they perhaps imagine that I come here to divert myself and to avoid work. Is it their intention with this false idea to suspend public business? If that is it, they are mistaken. I come here because the air of the country is a little better than that which one breathes in the enclosure of the city walls. But during the time of my sojourn here, my intention is that the affairs of the government shall not suffer in the least. I wish to apply myself each day to the welfare of the Empire, as I do at Peking, without any difference, nor do I intend to give myself any moment of rest or amusement. There have been several occasions already when I have warned the principal officials of the Boards that they should make their reports to me on the affairs of the court and the provinces. Why have they not come? If by chance there arose any reason to interrupt these duties, I would have them notified. Therefore, if after this order they do not conform themselves to my purposes, I shall be forced to believe that they do not approve of the sojourn which I make in this pleasure house."

But apparently the Emperor realized that the long journeys to the Yuan Ming Yuan from Peking were a severe hardship for his officials, for he instructs them to draw up a plan by which ministers of the Boards and other offices should appear only on certain days by turn, some each day. He would hold audience every day and those who had important business should come without waiting for their turn. In winter he would be more lenient with them, for he knows the climate of Peking:

Moreover, if the day on which you are supposed to come, it is extraordinarily cold, if the great north wind is blowing, if snow is falling, you would have to endure too much; it is right to take care of your health; you may stay at your ease. A delay of one or two days will not interfere with affairs, and if during these days I have something of importance to communicate to you, I will summon you. Let all those who ought to know of this order be notified.¹³

The impression of Yung Cheng's fretfulness which comes from reading his decrees regarding the willow trees and his daily audience is re-

¹²A footnote, presumably by the editor, explains that each day and each night there are certain princes and great lords in the Palace who lodge in a place assigned them in order to await the orders of the Emperor and to have them carried out.

¹³This is the Ch'in Cheng Tien, or Hall of Diligent Government, located on the Sketch Map, Number Two, just east of the Main Audience Hall. See map, p. 52, and description, p. 77.

¹⁴Letter from Father Contancin, dated Canton, 19th October, 1730 in *Lettres édifiantes*, vol. xxii, pp. 196-202.

inforced by a decree in which he objected to a false report of some details in regard to his celebration of the Dragon Boat Festival at the Yuan Ming Yuan. It reads:

In yesterday's *Court Gazette* I note the following: "On the occasion of the Dragon Festival the Princes and court all paid their respects to His Majesty at the Yuan Ming Yuan, after which the Emperor left the palace and entered the Dragon barge, while the court followed him in thirty other boats. Music was played and His Majesty presented everyone with 'rush wine' in honor of the festival. After an excursion lasting some hours the Emperor returned."

The Emperor adds that it might have been proper, if he had so observed the festival "according to ancient ceremony and in accord with the example set by sage sovereigns of antiquity." But he only received the ministers resident at the Yuan Ming Yuan and forbade any to come out from Peking. He objected, he said, to false stories.¹⁴

Yung Cheng claimed that he built in a simple style without excessive decoration in order to follow out the principles of frugality of his father, K'ang Hsi; and his son Ch'ien Lung corroborates his statements on this point. A comparison of the buildings erected in the reign of Ch'ien Lung with those of Yung Cheng's reign shows that Yung Cheng's buildings were less ornate and less magnificent.¹⁵

As there are available no detailed descriptions of the Yuan Ming Yuan as it existed in the reign of Yung Cheng or before, it is impossible to determine its exact size with certainty. But from the descriptions, and pictures made in the reign of Ch'ien Lung, from the manuscript map, which may be almost that old and which fits these descriptions very closely, and from some first hand knowledge of the grounds in their present ruined condition, it is possible to show with some degree of probability that the Yuan Ming Yuan was *at first* not more than a third or possibly a sixth as large as it was early in the reign of Ch'ien Lung, before the Garden of Long Spring and the Ch'i Ch'un Yuan were built.

In the first place there are several features which strongly suggest that the grounds were not all laid out at once. The Nine Islands around the Back Lake seem to form one complete group, and doubtless were the original small nucleus which formed the whole of the garden when Yung Cheng was still a prince.¹⁶ These are shown on the accompanying Sketch Map of the Yuan Ming Yuan, Numbers Three to Eleven, inclusive.¹⁷

¹⁴Backhouse and Bland, *Annals*, p. 293.

¹⁵A detailed description of the Yuan Ming Yuan as it existed early in the reign of Ch'ien Lung will be given in chap. iv. Probably those parts of the grounds which had existed in Yung Cheng's reign were not greatly altered by that time, although Ch'ien Lung had already added many other buildings on other land.

¹⁶Their arrangement may have suggested the name Yuan Ming Yuan. Cf. p. 43.

¹⁷These numbers are according to the order of the "Forty Pictures" in *Yü Chih Yuan Ming Yuan Ssu Shih Ching Shih*.

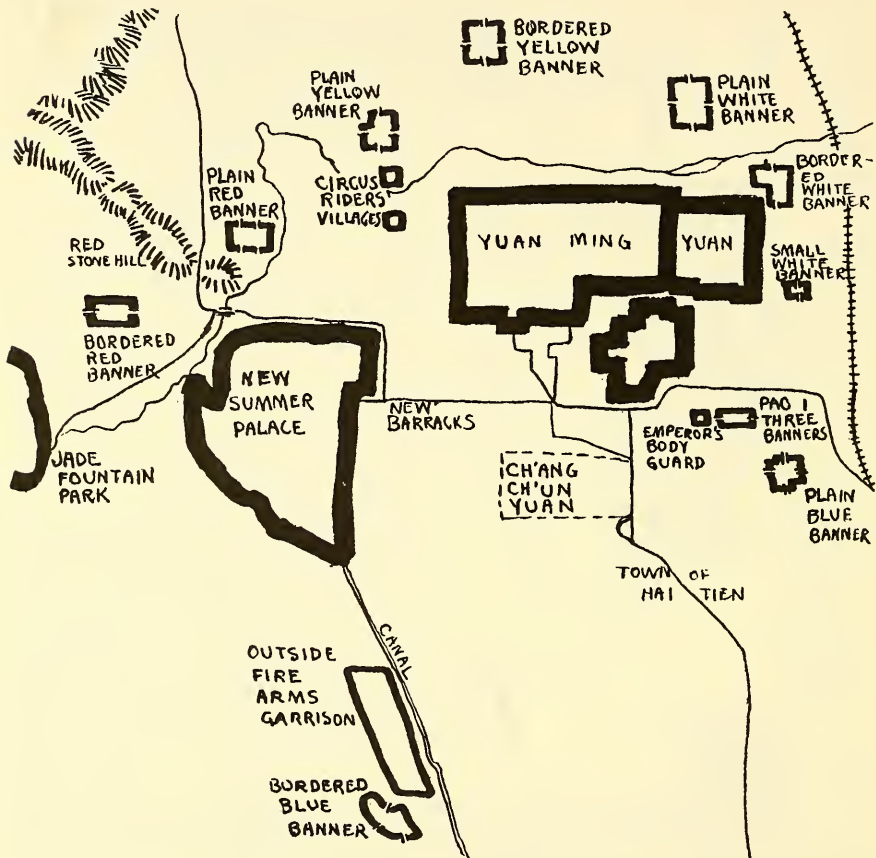
They lay just north of the Main Audience Hall, Number One on the Sketch Map, which together with the ordinary audience hall and office buildings nearby, Number Two, was erected early in the reign of Yung Cheng, on the south side of his garden.¹⁸ It would also seem likely that the Great Palace Gate with its numerous waiting rooms was added at the same time as the audience halls and offices, because the residence of a prince would not require such dignity nor so many waiting rooms for officials. The second gate of the palace must have been the old main gate. This seems more probable as this second gate is located on a straight line with the south wall of the garden, while the Great Palace Gate opens through a shorter wall, something like a bay, extending beyond the main south wall. It looks like a later addition, intended to add dignity to the approach to the Main Audience Hall.

Beyond the Nine Islands, which were a part of the original princely garden, a few other places are mentioned as existing in the reign of Yung Cheng, specifically those numbered Twelve, Thirteen, Fourteen, Twenty-seven and Forty on the map. But these and the groups near the Nine Islands, Numbers One to Eleven, would all be included within a quadrangle measuring a half mile east and west and very little over a half mile north and south. This is hardly a third of the area included in Ch'ien Lung's day and would include only sixteen out of the forty places shown in the pictures made early in the reign of Ch'ien Lung. It would exclude three portions of the grounds as they were in Ch'ien Lung's day. One of these is a long narrow strip separated from the rest of the garden by a wall along the north side, a wall which strongly suggests that this part of the grounds was a later addition. The second is a wider strip along the west where most of the drill field, Number Fifteen, lay and the ancestral shrine to K'ang Hsi and Yung Cheng, Number Seventeen, and the temples in group Number Sixteen stood.

¹⁸Yung Cheng's Record in *Jih Hsia*, vol. lxxxix, and in *Yü Chih Yuan Ming Yuan T'u Yung*.

The sketch map on page 52 is based on the official map. The large enclosure on the north and west is the Yuan Ming Yuan proper. The Garden of Long Spring, often called the Eastern Garden of the Yuan Ming Yuan, lies east of the Yuan Ming Yuan proper from which it is separated by a double wall. The foreign buildings are shown in a narrow strip on the north side of this Garden of Long Spring. The Ch'i Ch'un Yuan lies south of the Yuan Ming Yuan and the Garden of Long Spring. The numbers, 1-40 in the Yuan Ming Yuan proper locate the forty scenes described in Chapter IV, and the numbers 1-8 in the Garden of Long Spring locate the eight important groups of buildings there. The broken lines in the Yuan Ming Yuan proper mark off plots of ground which may not have been a part of the original Yuan Ming Yuan in K'ang Hsi's time. The part including the Nine Islands, Nos. 3-11, centering around the Back Lake, may have been the original nucleus of 1709. The Main Audience Hall, No. 1, and the buildings for meeting officials, No. 2, were built in 1725. The part north of the dotted line may or may not have belonged to the original garden.

It seems significant that if we exclude this strip along the west beyond the Southwest Gate, the main gate would be in the center of the south wall, a very natural position for it. With the inclusion of this strip, the name Southwest Gate is a misnomer, since there was another gate in the south wall farther west of it, the Ts'ao Yuan Gate. So presumably the Ts'ao Yuan Gate was added later. The third section which would be excluded



SKETCH MAP OF THE GARRISONS OF THE EIGHT BANNERS OF THE
YUAN MING YUAN GUARDS

is that part around the Happy Sea, Numbers Twenty-eight to Thirty-seven, bounded on the south by a wall considerably north of the main south wall of the garden, separated by a line of canals and hills from the older parts of the grounds to the west, and by a wall from the north strip, and having, as it faces on the Happy Sea, a very distinct center of interest.

While these three strips on the north, west, and east of the original Yuan Ming Yuan may have been added in the reign of Yung Cheng, there is no reason to think that they were acquired until early in the reign of Ch'ien Lung, when they were used for palace buildings.

YUAN MING YUAN GARRISONS

In order to have an adequate guard for his new palace, Yung Cheng in 1725 commanded that eight garrison villages be built for Eight Banners of Manchu Guards.¹⁹ These villages were built in a great curve like a horseshoe, with its opening to the south surrounding on the east, north, and west the Yuan Ming Yuan, the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan, and the Wan Shou Shan. Here more than 3000 guards were settled with their families. Their duties were to act as sentries and watchmen at 100 sentry posts around the Yuan Ming Yuan and to guard the road when the Emperor went out. Four of the eight commandants of the eight garrisons, a dozen other officers, and 1000 men were to be on duty continuously. The night was divided into sixteen watches. Doubtless then, as later, once in each watch a large wooden talley with the number of the watch written on it was relayed by watchmen, calling out the watch in the Manchu language, from one sentry post to another all the way around the palace and back to the starting point.²⁰ Yung Cheng ordered that when he came to the Yuan Ming Yuan or departed from it 80 guards should be stationed beside the road as far as the Hung Chiao, or Rainbow Bridge, about half way to the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan. If the Emperor went by boat from the southwest gate of the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan past the Sheng Hua Ssu, a temple in the rice fields south of the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan, to the Long Spring Bridge on the Jade Canal, three garrison commandants, 16 other officers and 240 guards were to be stationed along the bank of the canal. The numbers of the sentry posts and the guards stationed by the roads were considerably increased under later emperors.

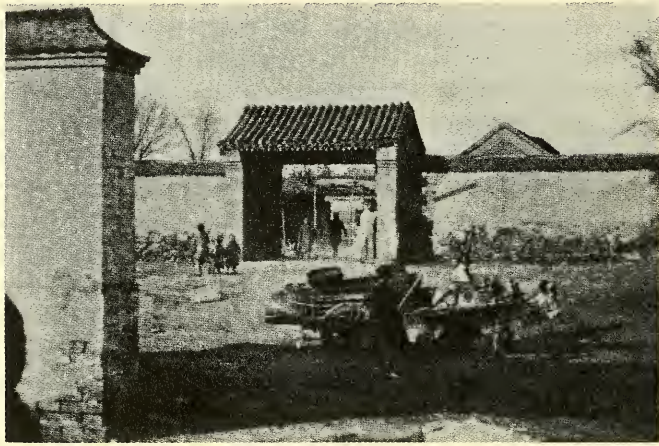
Their arms were spears, swords, bows, and arrows. The arrows had long sharp heads, which easily pulled off the shaft, making them difficult to extract from a wound, and which were kept wrapped in poison until ready for use.²¹ They were called by the euphonious name of "almond blossom needle arrows."

¹⁹The organization, duties, and history of the Eight Banners of the Manchu Army and of the Yuan Ming Yuan Guards are discussed in Beltchenko and Moran, *Present Day Political Organization of China*, pp. 25-45, 68, 323-332; in the *Ta Ch'ing Hui Tien*, sections 1167-68; and in a manuscript copy of the statistics and rules for the Yuan Ming Yuan Eight Banners and the Three Banners of *Pao I*, dated 1835, a copy of which was made for the writer by a friend, Ts'un Feng, who was an officer in the Bordered Blue Banner Garrison.

²⁰At least this was the method followed much later in the reign of Kuang Hsü, as told to the writer by a Manchu Bannerman, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that it was the original custom.

²¹According to Ts'un Feng.

Garrison villages were clearly distinguishable from ordinary Chinese villages by their walls and gates and uniform rows of houses, all facing south on lanes which led off east and west from the main north and south streets. The typical form was square with one broad avenue leading north and south, and another leading east and west through the center of the village. Almost every village, however, deviated in some respect from this shape, some having certain corners cut off, or the gates arranged in unusual places, and one was built in the odd shape of a Chinese woman's shoe. Almost every garrison village had a temple of the God of War just inside the north gate, a garrison headquarters at



SOUTH GATE OF THE PLAIN BLUE BANNER GARRISON

the cross roads in the center, a school, an armory, and not far away a drill field, where the Bannermen were to drill and practice archery on foot and on horseback.

One of the garrisons was inhabited by the Three Banners of the *Pao I*, hereditary bond servants under the control of the *Nei Wu Fu*, Imperial Household Department.²² The people of this Three Banner Garrison were looked down upon by the people of the Eight Banners, who would not give them their daughters in marriage. Neither were the daughters of the Three Banner Garrison taken as wives by the Emperor, as were the girls from other Manchu Banners, but only as servants, who were returned to their families when they were twenty years of age. They then might be married to Chinese subjects, whereas the girls from the other Banners could be married only to Manchus.

²²The term *Pao I* is a Chinese transliteration of a Manchu word.

Just west of the Three Banner Garrison Village stood the *Shih Wei Ying*, or Garrison of the Imperial Body-guard, which accompanied the Emperor both inside and outside of the palace. It was composed of Bannermen selected for their military bearing and proficiency.²³ Their quarters are said to have been much better than those of the other garrisons. Their archery ground is now used by Yenching University as the East Residence Compound.



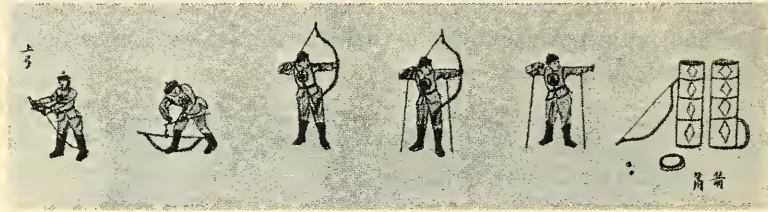
COURTYARD OF THE TEMPLE OF THE GOD OF WAR, INSIDE THE NORTH GATE
OF THE PLAIN BLUE BANNER GARRISON

There were also some villages of fancy horseback riders just west of the Yuan Ming Yuan. These and the quarters for the Imperial Body-guard may have been established later than the reign of Yung Cheng.

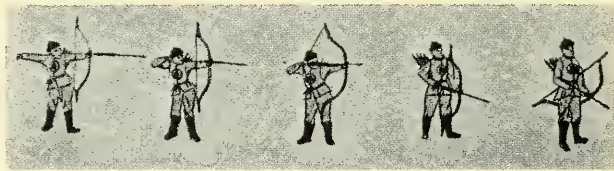
Two Buddhist Temples in the summer palace region are associated with the name of Yung Cheng. These are the temples popularly called *Wo Fo Ssu*, which was renamed by him *Shih Fang P'u Chueh Ssu*

²³Van Braam, *Embassy*, vol. ii, p. 31, describes a ceremonial dance performed by these body guards in 1795.

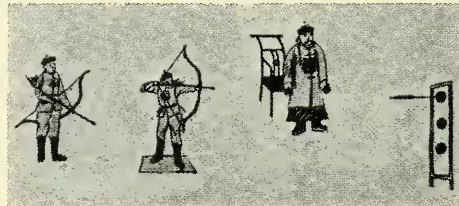
(probably indicating at least some important repairs), and the Great Bell Temple, which he built and where his illustrious son had the Great Bell hung.²⁴



A. Preliminary—1, Bow and quivers; 2, Supports for position of arms; 3, Position with supports and bow; 4, Position with bow without supports; 5, Weighing the strength of the bow; 6, Stringing the bow



B. Correct form in shooting—1, Putting arrow to the bow; 2, Putting arrow to the string; 3, Aiming; 4, Loosing the arrow; 5, Position after loosing arrow



C. Official test—1, Target; 2, The examiner; 3, Contestant; 4, Waiting his turn

ARCHERY PRACTICE OF THE YUAN MING YUAN GUARDS

From a sketch presented to the writer by Ts'un Feng, a Manchu official.

AN EARTHQUAKE

A great earthquake took place at Peking in the reign of Yung Cheng. It continued for several days, September 20th to October 6th, 1730, and resulted in considerable loss of life, both in Peking and in Hai Tien. Although neither the Emperor nor any of his court ladies or high officials were harmed, the Jesuit priests reported that the Yuan Ming Yuan, where the court was at the time, was reduced to a pitiable condition and could

²⁴Jih Hsia.

be repaired only at a vast expense. At the moment of the earthquake the Emperor was riding for pleasure on a barge on a canal in his palace gardens. He was greatly frightened, prayed to Heaven, and published an edict assuming the blame for Heaven's displeasure. At night he remained on the boat, but in the daytime he went on shore by a canal a



THE EAST GATE OF THREE BANNER GARRISON OF THE PAO I

fourth of a league west of the palace. Here a magnificent tent had been prepared for him and other tents for the Empress and the other ladies of the palace. Large grants were made from the imperial treasury for the relief of the Manchu Garrisons, the princes, and officials. The Emperor sent for the Jesuits to come to the Yuan Ming Yuan on October 5th.

They were conducted by boat to his presence and were received outside his tent. He asked them about the nature of earthquakes, and gave them 1000 taels to help repair their three churches in Peking.²⁵

DEATH OF YUNG CHENG

According to the official account, Emperor Yung Cheng died in his residence at the Yuan Ming Yuan in the fall of 1735. On the second day of his illness he summoned to his bedroom some of the princes and great ministers and the commander of his body-guard and in his presence had them open the decree, which had hitherto been kept sealed, appointing his fourth son as heir to the throne. The next day the Emperor died and the officials went to make the appropriate announcements in the Ancestral Shrine.

Another story holds that "Yung Cheng was murdered by the widow of a Hunanese named Lu who had been dismembered on a charge of treasonable conspiracy This woman succeeded in gaining access to the pleasure garden at the Yuan Ming Yuan, and concealing herself there, lay in wait for the Emperor and stabbed him to the heart; after which she committed suicide."²⁶ One version of this story says that the woman was avenging both her grandfather, who had incriminated some of Yung Cheng's former vicious companions, and her teacher, a priest, who had refused to perform some criminal act for the Emperor, both of whom were executed by Yung Cheng's orders. The priest had laughed before he died and said that someone would avenge him. His head, which was brought to Yung Cheng, and the report of his threat, alarmed the Emperor, and he feared to eat or sleep for a month before his death.

²⁵*Lettres édifiantes*, recueil xx, Paris, 1731, pp. vii-xxxii.

²⁶Backhouse and Bland, *Annals*, p. 309; *Ch'ing Tai T'ung Shih*, chap. 29, p. 109 ff.; another account in *Lettres édifiantes*, vol. xxiv, Paris, 1739.

CHAPTER IV

THE YUAN MING YUAN IN THE REIGN OF CH'IENT LUNG

CH'IENT LUNG AS PRINCE AND EMPEROR

The little prince who was destined to become the mighty Emperor Ch'ien Lung was born in 1711, in the reign of his grandfather, K'ang Hsi. His father was the fourth among many sons of the reigning emperor, no one of whom was at that time designated to succeed to the throne. His mother was the daughter of a poor Manchu official of the fourth rank. As a boy he was proficient in archery and gunnery. When his grandfather saw him at the Yuan Ming Yuan, he took a fancy to his ten- or eleven-year-old grandson, and took him with him to live in the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan and to Jehol. Also during his father's reign he lived sometimes in the Yuan Ming Yuan and sometimes in the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan. He was only twenty-four when he was called upon to succeed his father, Emperor Yung Cheng, in 1735.¹

The reign of Ch'ien Lung, like that of his grandfather, K'ang Hsi, was one of the few greatest reigns in all China's history. Never, except in the Yuan Dynasty, was the Emperor of China recognized as the ruler of such a vast empire, including China proper and numerous tributary states. Successful campaigns were fought in Mongolia, the conquest of Chinese Turkestan was completed, and the Kalmuck tribe, which returned from Russian territory in the time of Catherine the Great to resume its allegiance to the Chinese Empire, was generously received by the Emperor.² Parts of Tibet were annexed to Szechuan and Yunnan Provinces after the campaigns on the Chin Ch'uan, or Golden River, and the administration of Tibet itself came under the control of China. Nepal and Burma were punished for invasions of Tibetan territory and agreed to pay tribute to China. Rebellions of the wild tribes of the southwest were suppressed. The kings of Annam and Korea brought tribute. Envoys brought tribute from Afghanistan and from the regions since known as Russian Turkestan. Yet in spite of expensive wars on the frontier, the population and wealth of China were increasing. Literature and the fine arts were flourishing under imperial patronage. Trade with Russia at Kiakh'ta and with the other Europeans at Canton was strictly regulated

¹*Ch'ing Tai T'ung Shih*, vol ii, part 1, chap. 1.

²An interesting but highly colored account of this migration is found in De Quincey's *Revolt of the Tartars*.

by China. Trade with the United States began in this reign, in 1784. Emperor Ch'ien Lung like his grandfather made several trips to the Yangtze valley, especially to Soochow and Hangchow, and so became acquainted with the people and scenes of various parts of his empire.

He also made use of the Jesuit priests at his court as mechanics, artists, and architects, and sometimes discussed matters of philosophy, science, and religion with them. Yet, if the tales of his belief in *feng shui* are true, he still retained a serious regard for the occult lore of his people.

For the summer palaces the reign of Ch'ien Lung is the period of greatest splendor. K'ang Hsi had observed the word *frugality* as his motto, and his son Yung Cheng had followed his example. But while, from a sense of filial piety, Ch'ien Lung rendered lip service to the same Spartan virtue, he seems to have been carried away by his fine appreciation of the beauties of nature and art about him, and by the realization of the almost limitless power which he held, and could turn at will to the creation of the finest products of the genius of the Chinese people. Hence, we find him writing in praise of the economy of his ancestors and on the same page apologizing for the expensive structures which he himself was erecting.

THE YUAN MING YUAN EARLY IN CH'IENT LUNG'S REIGN

The Yuan Ming Yuan, which had become the chief imperial residence under Yung Cheng, remained the favorite dwelling of the Emperor in the reign of Ch'ien Lung. His fondness for this garden palace is shown in several ways: the pictures of it which his court artists made for him, the poems about it which he wrote himself, the new buildings which he erected, the additions which he made to the palace grounds, his frequent visits, public and private entertainments, and his prolonged periods of residence here.

One of his earliest recorded acts in relation to this palace was a commission given to six of his court artists to make a map, presumably a picture-map, of the Yuan Ming Yuan. One of these artists was the famous Italian Jesuit, Castiglione, known in Chinese art history as Lang Shih Ning. The others were all Chinese whose work is well known, T'ang Tai, Sun Yu, Shen Yuan, Chang Wan Pang, and Ting Kuan P'eng. This map was completed in 1737 and was hung on the wall of the Emperor's private apartments. No copies of it are known to exist, and it was doubtless destroyed in 1860.³

Numerous poems by Ch'ien Lung referring to the delights of the

³*Jih Hsia*, vol. lxxxix.

Yuan Ming Yuan are found throughout his several collections of Imperial Poems, the *Yü Chih Shih*. The earliest of these dates from mid-summer, 1738. A prefatory note explains that at a time when refreshing rains had fallen everywhere the Emperor specially summoned his highest officials and the members of the Hanlin Academy to the Yuan Ming Yuan. He took them on a boat for a pleasure ride and they recited poetry together. This poem was composed on that happy occasion. While in translation it sounds prosy, it is fairly typical of several of the characteristics of these imperial poems. The first couplet reveals the Emperor's sense of condescension, the second his sensitiveness to natural beauty, the third his strong tendency to moralizing, and the fourth his literary bent.

In my leisure after toil I have come for an outing;
Extraordinary privileges have I granted to my ministers.

In the clear air after rain the aspect of the mountains has crystalized
to blue-black.

The wind blows on the water and turns it to wrinkled silk.

Riding together in one boat we must remember to act in harmony.
So in these surroundings we must recall the hard labor of the farmers.

As the rain of day before yesterday fell everywhere,
So let everyone write a new poem in the same style in recognition of
our happiness.⁴

Early in his reign Ch'ien Lung began making additions to his palace buildings and grounds. Along the north side of the Yuan Ming Yuan proper three large and important buildings were constructed, the She Wei Ch'eng or Wall of Sravasti, the Fang Hu Sheng Ching or Elevated Region of the Square Pot, both built in 1740, and the Ancestral Shrine built in 1742.⁵ If the argument in the previous chapter on the extent of the grounds in the reign of Yung Cheng is correct, it is likely that Ch'ien Lung had already made some considerable additions to the grounds of his father's palace on both the east and west. The She Wei Ch'eng was built on land which had been included in Yung Cheng's palace, but the Fang Hu Sheng Ching lies near the northeast corner of the Yuan Ming Yuan proper, and the Ancestral Shrine lies in the northwest corner, both of them in plots of ground which do not seem to have been a part of the original grounds of K'ang Hsi's day and probably not a part of the grounds in the reign of Yung Cheng.⁶

⁴*Yü Chih Shih*, Ch'ien Lung, first collection, vol. i.

⁵The *Yuan Ming Yuan Tse Li* contains lists of wages and prices for the building and furnishing of these buildings. Cf. p. 232. The buildings are described on pp. 83-88, 92, and 94.

⁶Cf. p. 51 and map, p. 52.

In the inner courtyard of the Ancestral Shrine Ch'ien Lung set up two large marble tablets and covered them with ornate pavilions. On one tablet was inscribed the "Record of the Yuan Ming Yuan" by the Emperor Yung Cheng, and on the other the "Later Record of the Yuan Ming Yuan" by Ch'ien Lung himself. While these records contain some historical facts, they are chiefly literary essays portraying the impressions and purposes of the emperors in building these garden palaces. Both essays refer to the frugality of K'ang Hsi and of Yung Cheng, who followed his father's example. Apparently Ch'ien Lung thus early in his reign was so well contented with the Yuan Ming Yuan that he thought no finer palaces were necessary either for him or his descendants. But actually these monuments were set up within the walls of a very expensive shrine which he had erected in honor of his thrifty ancestors. The first part of the following quotation from his essay refers to the alterations which were made necessary when his father, Yung Cheng, became emperor:

Rooms for study, courtyards, pavilions on land and over the water, hills and pools scattered here and there, were ornamented, not elaborately but simply, not richly but unostentatiously. He planted various flowers and trees which grew as though in rivalry and smiled to meet him. To appreciate the hard work of the farmers and mulberry growers, he had fields, and barns, and plots of vegetables, by which he understood the importance of rain and sunshine for the crops. The wind among the pines and the moon over the water entered his breast, inspiring thoughts of beauty. In small and large halls he received his officials and scholars and discussed with them literature, the classics, and history. His leisure hours were spent in singing, composing poetry, and in meditation. My Imperial Father attended to duty first and pleasure afterwards, as my Imperial Grandfather did before him, that everything under Heaven might be perfect and bright.¹ The meaning of *Yuan*, round or perfect, and *Ming*, bright, is the golden mean of the gentleman. My Imperial Grandfather bestowed this name on the garden, and it was respectfully received by my Imperial Father as his own motto As a tender youth I received the palaces and gardens of the former emperors. I have been in constant fear lest I might bring shame upon myself and disgrace to my ancestors. Therefore, when I came to the throne and my officials proposed that I build other gardens, I refused. After three years of mourning I still lived in the old garden of my Imperial Father.

Every emperor and ruler, when he has retired from audience and has finished his public duties, must have a garden where he may stroll and look about and relax his heart. If he has a suitable place to do this, it will refresh his mind and regulate his emotions, but if not, he will become engrossed in sensual pleasure and lose his will power. If thoughts of palaces, costumes, strange performances, curiosities, and other attractions completely occupy his thoughts, his interest in meeting officials, receiving criticisms, diligence in government, and care for the people will gradually fade away. Would not such a condition be too dreadful for words?

¹An allusion to the name of the Yuan Ming Yuan.

The reason why my Imperial Father did not live in the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan was that he already had the Yuan Ming Yuan. Although, in conformity with the frugal principles of my Imperial Grandfather, my Imperial Father did not richly ornament the palace, the buildings were spacious and open, the hills and dales were secluded and quiet, the configuration of the land, and the plants and trees well arranged and beautiful. He had enough tall buildings and deep rooms and was quite satisfied. Protected by Heaven and blessed by Earth, it is a place of recreation worthy of the Emperor; there is none better. Later generations will certainly not desert this place to build other gardens and thus twice consume the wealth of the people, but in this respect they will sincerely follow my attempt to conform to the examples of diligence and frugality set by my Imperial Father and myself. What should be done with imperial palaces if an Emperor cannot live where his Imperial Father or Grandfather has lived before him?⁸

Yet Ch'ien Lung himself admitted later, in a record which he made of the establishment of a new imperial garden at the Wan Shou Shan in 1761 that he had not followed the strict principles which he expressed in this record.⁹

By 1744 Ch'ien Lung's building at the Yuan Ming Yuan was almost complete.¹⁰ In that year two court artists, T'ang Tai and Shen Yuan, painted for the Emperor a remarkable set of forty views of this palace, which have been in the Bibliothèque Nationale since 1862.¹¹ The perspective in these pictures follows the European principle of a common vanishing point for all the buildings of a single group. This suggests very strongly that these artists had absorbed some of the ideas of the European artist Castiglione with whom they had previously collaborated.¹²

In this same year the Emperor himself wrote a series of poems on these same forty views which were published both in the collection of *Imperial Poems*¹³ and in a separate book of two volumes called *Imperial Poems on the Forty Scenes of the Yuan Ming Yuan*.¹⁴ Each of the

⁸Yü Chih Yuan Ming Yuan T'u Yung, introduction.

⁹Cf. pp. 112 and 113.

¹⁰The chief buildings which were added later were the Ts'ao Yuan in 1751, the Wen Yuan Ko, the library where the Ssu K'u Ch'uan Shu was housed in 1774, and the Han Shan or Cold Hill in the narrow strip along the north side of the Yuan Ming Yuan which appears in none of the "Forty Pictures." The date of the Han Shan is unknown, but it is not likely that the artists would have missed the chance to paint such a picturesque rock mountain if it had been in existence in 1744. Cf. pp. 80, 88, and 89.

¹¹Pelliot in *T'oung Pao*, 1921, p. 232. Six pictures of the set have been reproduced by Combaz, *Les palais impériaux de la Chine*, plates xxi-xxvi.

¹²On the map of the Yuan Ming Yuan of 1737, and on the *Pin Feng T'u*, an album of views in which Castiglione had done the buildings, T'ang Tai the landscape, and Shen Yuan the figures of men and animals. Cf. Pelliot in *T'oung Pao*, 1921, p. 233.

¹³Yü Chih Shih, Ch'ien Lung, first collection, vol. xxii.

¹⁴Yü Chih Yuan Ming Yuan Ssu Shih Ching Shih. The title of the paintings was *Yuan Ming Yuan Ssu Shih Ching*.

forty scenes has a poetic name of four characters, usually taken from the name of some important building in the group represented. A set of woodcuts depicting each of the forty scenes and closely resembling the forty paintings was drawn by Sun Yu and Shen Yuan and was included—each picture with the poems on the same scene.¹⁵ Elaborate commentaries on almost every verse of the poems were added by learned scholars. For an introduction, the "Record of the Yuan Ming Yuan" by Yung Cheng and the "Later Record of the Yuan Ming Yuan"¹⁶ by Ch'ien Lung were printed in red in the first volume. This imperial publication of essays, pictures, and poems testifies eloquently to the Emperor's joy and pride in his favorite garden palace. The "Forty Pictures," as these paintings and woodcuts may be called, give us a more complete view of the Yuan Ming Yuan than we can find for any other period.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE YUAN MING YUAN

As the Yuan Ming Yuan reached the climax of its beauty in the reign of Ch'ien Lung, and as there are such full sources for this period, this will be the most appropriate place to describe it in general and in some detail.

Nothing more clearly marks the distinction between the garden palaces at the Yuan Ming Yuan and the Peking palaces in the Forbidden City than the massiveness of the walls and gates of the Forbidden City, the spaciousness of its courtyards, and the imposing effect which these make when they are approached from a distance. As one passes along the broad avenues, through one set of lofty gates after another, and through several enormous courtyards, the formality, dignity and immensity of the palace are most impressive. At the Wu Men, or Noon Gate, where the Emperor reviewed his victorious troops and their prisoners, His Majesty looked down from a building erected on a foundation wall forty feet above the courtyard where his subjects kneeled. The writer has seen ten thousand troops drawn up in one of these courtyards with plenty of room to spare. These buildings were very evidently intended to impress subjects and barbarians with a feeling of awe at the magnificence and power of the Son of Heaven.

Very different effects were sought at the Yuan Ming Yuan by the Emperor. The ideals of refinement and seclusion were found to be more

¹⁵Although the forty woodcuts closely resemble the forty paintings, and one of the artists, Shen Yuan, has his name on both sets of pictures, the woodcuts are not servile copies of the paintings. For instance, in the painting of the Ancestral Hall the trees are so dense and tall that they practically conceal the four white marble pillars, which show much more clearly in the woodcuts, and in the last picture the woodcut shows the Fu Yuan Gate which is not shown in the painting at all.

¹⁶See above, p. 64.

fitting for a suburban garden palace. The gates and walls and courts of the most monumental structure at the Yuan Ming Yuan, the Ancestral Shrine, were not intended to impress the crowds, but were surrounded by earth, hills, and trees, which contributed an atmosphere of privacy amid the beauties of nature. What is true of the Ancestral Shrine is true of practically all the other buildings in the grounds. These buildings were intended for the private life, devotions, and recreation of the Emperor after he attended to the business of government. While many of the groups of buildings were arranged with some degree of symmetry, there was nothing to approach the impressive spectacle of the Forbidden City nor the stiff formality of the contemporary gardens of Europe. Greater refinements in the art of gardening were sought in more charming arrangements of rocks, pools, and flower-beds, the most effective setting for choice bits of architectural design, and the appearance of natural beauty. A complicated network of canals and artificial hills made of earth, excavated from the canals, cut the grounds into scores of islands and valleys in which each group of buildings differed from every other group.

The ideal way to regard this villa is as a collection of separate scenes with little or no relation to one another. This is, in fact, the way in which the palace is represented in the "Forty Pictures." Some of the places bear names or contain tablets which show that the Emperors had built them in imitation of gardens, libraries, or scenes in distant parts of China. Many of these separate islands and valleys may also be considered as the dwellings of the numerous members of the Emperor's large family, wives, concubines, children, and grandchildren. Besides dwellings, there were numerous other buildings, halls for audience and for meeting officials, an ancestral shrine, temples, libraries, theatres, farm buildings to remind the Emperor of his duties as the father of his people, a drill field for archery contests, for entertaining embassies and for fireworks, a school for the princes, a workshop for the artists, boathouses, rockeries and rock gardens, ornamental gateways, and numerous pavilions and covered porches of various shapes and sizes.

The devastated site of the Yuan Ming Yuan today can give us little conception of that famous palace in its prime. The complete official manuscript map of the buildings and grounds in possession of the present writer clears away the débris and restores the gates and walls, buildings and hills, canals, roads, and bridges to order and harmony. The "Forty Pictures" replace the palace buildings on their foundations and revive the trees on the denuded hillocks and the lotus blossoms in the reed-choked pools. The scales of wages and prices in the *Yuan Ming Yuan Tse Li* recall the cartmen to hauling timbers and glazed tiles for the roofs, the sculptors to their carving of dragons of white marble, the furniture

polishers to the work of completing the interior decorations. The *Jih Hsia Chiu Wen K'ao*, the *Shun T'ien Fu Chih*, and the *Ch'i Fu T'ung Chih* return the buildings to the use of the princes and rewrite the inscriptions hanging on the walls. The *Ta Ch'ing Hui Tien* summons the palace guards to their posts at the gates and the gardeners to their flowers. The *Imperial Poems* bring the Emperor himself, tired from his audiences with officials, to the delights of literature, art, and nature. With the descriptions by Europeans come Jesuit missionaries, teaching western learning, English and Dutch embassies, curious to see the famous palace and its wealth. Living descendants of men who saw the palaces in their splendor keep the traditions alive. All these sources contribute to our conception of the Yuan Ming Yuan when it was still the favorite garden palace of the Son of Heaven.

THE GREAT PALACE GATE AT THE YUAN MING YUAN

The officials who came out from Peking to attend the audience held at Yuan Ming Yuan would travel along the granite road through the town of Hai Tien and pass the walls of Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan. Between the



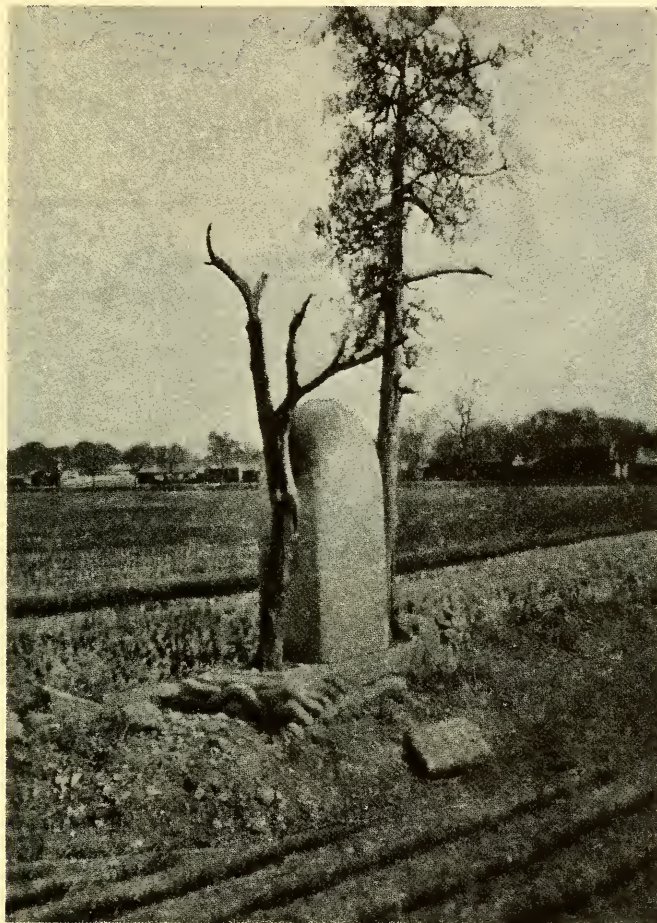
APPROACH TO THE RUINS OF THE GREAT PALACE GATE OF THE YUAN MING YUAN
The road is of granite blocks and extends northwestward between the Fan Lakes.

Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan and the Yuan Ming Yuan there stood a few gardens belonging to various princes and the Village of H'anging Armor. Just north of these, a branch of the imperial granite road turned off from the main east and west road and ran northwestward between two lotus ponds toward the Great Palace Gate. From their shape these lotus ponds are called "Fan Lakes" and their position is that of a fan blowing a cool and fragrant breeze toward the palace gates. A monument put up by Ch'ien Lung in 1763¹⁷ explained that this place was formerly marshy and almost impassable for carts. Hence, to find work for the people after a time of

¹⁷It still stands on the west side of the lake.

poor harvests and to improve the roads, the Emperor had this low place made into a lake and the earth used to build up some marshy land nearby. He insists that it was not simply to improve the view at his palace gate.

On the north side of the Fan Lake and directly south of the gate stood an ornamented spirit wall 137 feet long, over five feet thick, and about 15 feet high.¹⁸ Beyond the spirit wall, the road ran straight north



CH'IENT LUNG'S MONUMENT ON THE WEST BANK
OF FAN LAKE, 1763

to the gate. Beside the road stood waiting rooms, and behind these were many buildings for the use of the principal boards of the government and for the Eight Banners of the Manchu Army, which must be repre-

¹⁸From measurements by the writer, before the wall was torn down for the sake of the building material it contained.

sented at the imperial audiences. Here were also quarters for the Chün Chi Ch'u, or Grand Council of State. Among the buildings for the boards were found the Nan Shu Fang, an imperial school, the treasury, the dispensary, and the kitchens.¹⁹

The Great Palace Gate was a roofed building in which hung a tablet inscribed with the name of the garden, Yuan Ming Yuan, written by the Emperor K'ang Hsi.



THE MAIN AUDIENCE HALL
(The first view in the "Forty Pictures")

¹⁹The boards represented on the east side of the gate were: The Imperial Clan Court, the Grand Secretariat, the Board of Civil Office, the Board of Rites, the Army Board, the Censorate, the Board of Dependencies, the Imperial Academy of Literature, the Board of the Households of the Empress and the Heir-apparent, the Board of The National Academy of Learning, the Imperial Guard, the East Four Banners, the Treasury, and the Imperial School. Those on the west were the Board of Population and Revenue, the Board of Punishments, the Board of Works, the Board of Astronomy, the Imperial Household, the Court of Banqueting, the Transmission Office, the Court of Judicature and Revision, the Court of Ceremonies, the Sacrificial Court, the Court of Imperial Stud, the Imperial Library, the Palace Studs, the Imperial Armory, the West Four Banners, the Workshops of the Imperial Household, the Imperial Kitchen, and the Imperial Dispensary. Some of these names are so translated by Beltchenko and Moran.



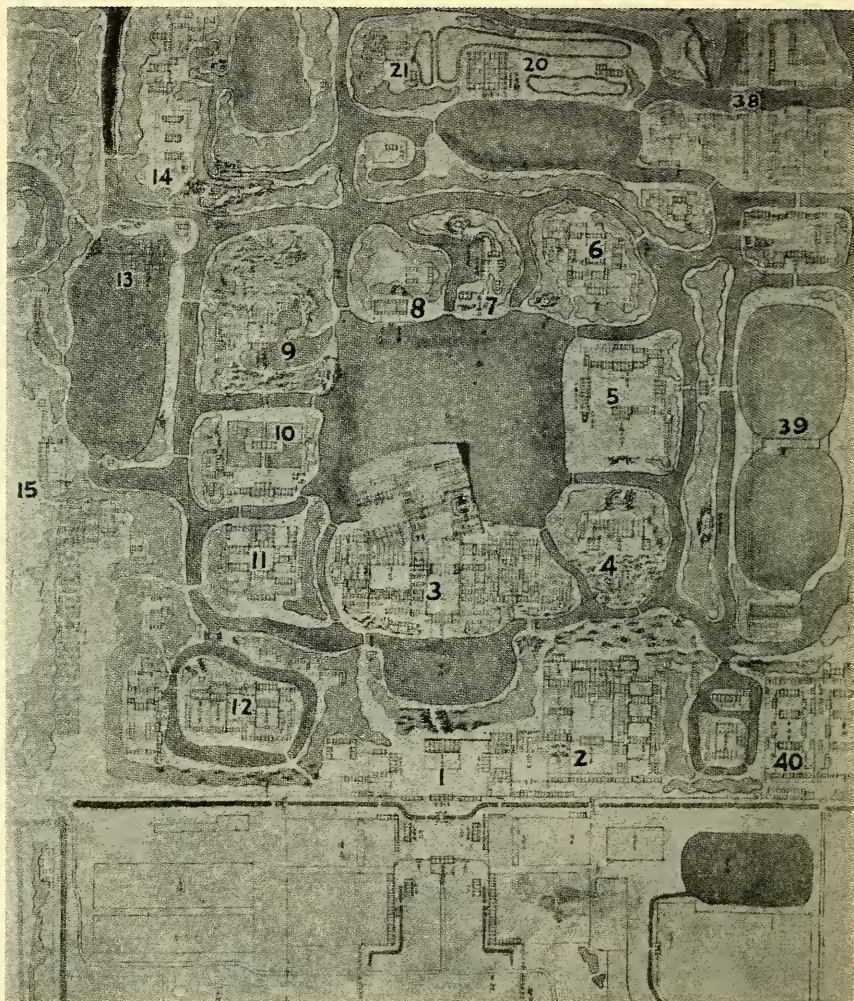
MAIN AUDIENCE HALL

(First view in the "Forty Pictures," from a later reprint)

This view does not show the Great Palace Gate, the inner courtyard, and the Main Audience Hall.

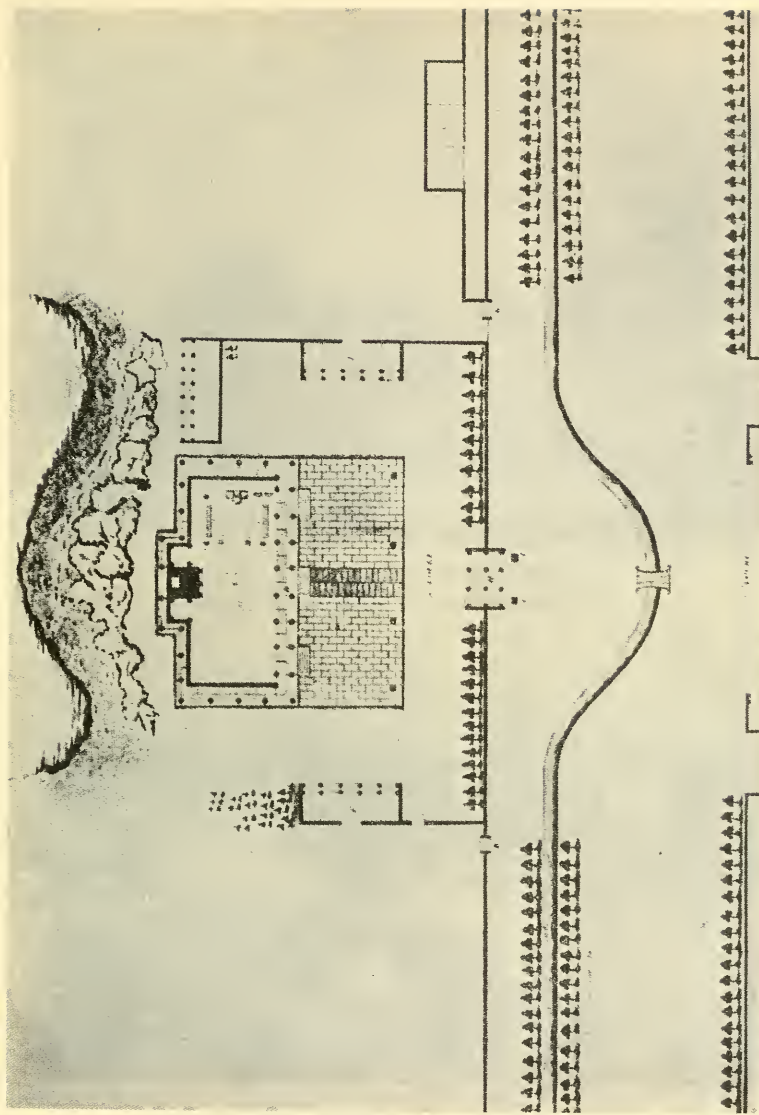
THE FORTY SCENES OF THE YUAN MING YUAN PROPER

These forty scenes are numbered according to their order in Ch'ien Lung's *Imperial Poems on the Forty Scenes of the Yuan Ming Yuan*. After the number there is given in some cases a descriptive name, then



A PORTION OF THE OFFICIAL MAP OF THE YUAN MING YUAN

The numbers correspond to the forty scenes and have been added by the writer. The Main Audience Hall is shown in the center of the lower half of this cut. A piece of paper showing a plan of a later alteration of the Emperor's private Apartments is folded up over the Back Lake. Water, land, and hills are shown in different tints. Every room and every *ch'ien* is shown. See Appendix II, p. 231.



BARROW'S PLAN OF THE MAIN AUDIENCE HALL AT THE YUAN MING YUAN
(From volume of plates of Staunton's *Embassy*)

The Emperor's throne is represented by the white spot on the black dais. The alcove in which the throne is shown is a mistake, for the back wall of the building was straight.

the poetic title by which the place is called, and a translation of it. The numbers on the maps on pages 52 and 72, have been added by the present writer to locate these forty scenes.



PICTURE OF THE MAIN AUDIENCE HALL
(From Staunton's *Embassy*, volume of plates)



SITE OF THE MAIN AUDIENCE HALL

Piles of reeds gathered from the shallow lakes are sold for making matting and awnings. The hut of the reed harvesters occupies a part of the marble terrace on which the Audience Hall stood. The rockery behind the Audience Hall is also in ruins.

1. *The Main Audience Hall* (Cheng Ta Kuang Ming, or Central Great Brilliant Bright). Just after passing through the Great Palace Gate on their way to the Main Audience Hall, officials would find themselves in an inner courtyard with waiting rooms on the west, beyond which were the offices for translation work, and also on the east, where the Ch'ün Chi Ch'u, or Supreme War Council met, which in Yung Cheng's day became the Grand Council of State. Beyond these waiting rooms flowed a moat crossed by an arched bridge and edged with faced stone and balustrades. In Ch'ien Lung's day there were large willow trees on both sides of the moat of which a few picturesque remains were still standing in 1912. Beyond the moat there is an inner gate, commonly called the Second Gate of the Palace, but officially named Ch'u Ju Hsien Liang Men, or Gate for the Departure and Entrance of Virtue and Goodness, a name doubtless intended as a compliment and exhortation to the officials and Emperor who used it. The gate house and two side buildings here contained rooms for attendants. A pair of gilt dragons guarded the entrance. Another gate still farther to the east led to the Hall of Diligent Government, which belongs to View Number Two and one farther west was for the use of the eunuchs.

This Second Gate of the Palace led into the courtyard where the Main Audience Hall stood on a foundation 129 feet long, 63 feet wide, and 4 feet high, ascended by three sets of stone steps. It was a building of seven *chien*²⁰ besides having a porch all around the outside, formed by an outer row of columns supporting the projecting eaves, so that the façade presented a colonnade of ten columns. The pedestal for each of these columns was a square block of stone, the square part level with the floor, but with a circular top, rising about three inches above the level of the floor, on which the wooden pillar stood. In the center of the pedestal was a hole to receive a point projecting from the lower end of the pillar to hold it in place. The round tops of the pedestals at this Main Audience Hall were 2 feet 9 inches in diameter, and so allowing for a narrow ledge of the pedestal extending beyond the edge of the foot of the pillar, we may estimate that the pillars themselves were about 2 feet 8 inches in diameter. The floor was paved with slabs of a white marble veined in black, called *ta li shih*, three inches thick and about two

²⁰A *chien*, the Chinese unit of measurement in reckoning the size of houses, is the space between the pairs or rows of wooden pillars which support the framework of the house. Thus a room with four pairs of pillars would consist of three *chien*, and a throne room with eight rows of pillars across the front would have seven *chien*. This method of counting *chien* does not take into consideration the fact that some *chien* are larger than others.

feet square, set on a foundation of brick and lime.²¹ This was doubtless the building erected in a simple style in the south side of his garden by Yung Cheng when he came to live in the Yuan Ming Yuan after three years of mourning for his father, in 1725. But it was more elaborately decorated before the end of the reign of Ch'ien Lung, the columns painted red, the capitals ornamented with dragons, and the whole entablature covered with gilt wire to keep the birds away.²² Behind this hall rose tall pines and a hill crowned with a rugged rockery. The foliage and blossoms of flowering trees overtopped the walls of the courtyard before the Audience Hall. A covered passage-way led from the back part of the hall to the nearby buildings on the east. This Main Audience Hall was the place chosen by or for Macartney, the English ambassador, for setting up the presents sent by George III to Emperor Ch'ien Lung in 1793, and where these presents were arranged before the throne.²³

Macartney himself says of the great hall or Presence Chamber of the Emperor:

It is one hundred and fifty feet long and sixty feet wide; there are windows on one side only, and opposite to them is the Imperial Throne of carved mahogany, the logs of which were brought from England,²⁴ and elevated by a few steps from the floor. Over the Chair of State is an inscription in Chinese:

Ching-Tha-Quan-Ming-Foo

the translation of which signifies:

Verus, Magnus, Gloriosus. Splendidus, Felix

On each side of the Chair of State is a beautiful argus pheasant's tail spread out into a magnificent fan of great extent. The floor is of checkered marble, grey and white, with neat mats laid upon it in different places to walk upon. At one end I observed a musical clock that played twelve old English tunes, the "Black Joke," "Lillibullero," and other airs of the "Beggars' Opera." It was decorated in wretched old taste, with ornaments of crystal and colored stones, but had been, I dare say, very much admired in its time. On the dial appeared in large characters, "George Clarke, Clock and Watch Maker, in Leadenhall Street, London."

This saloon we determined on for the reception of some of our most magnificent presents.²⁵

²¹These measurements were made by the writer on the spot. As only the foundations were left, he had no way of measuring the height of the building, but Staunton in his *Embassy*, p. 126, says that the hall inside exceeded twenty feet in height.

²²Staunton, *Embassy*, p. 126.

²³This is clear from a study of the site itself in comparison with the official Chinese accounts in *Jih Hsia*, vol. lxxx; the Official Map; the "Forty Pictures"; Barrows' full page engraving of this Audience Hall in the folio volume of plates accompanying Staunton's *Embassy*.

²⁴This is improbable. It was probably Chinese redwood.

²⁵Robbins, *Our First Ambassador to China*, p. 279. Macartney was not very far wrong in his estimates of the length and breadth of the hall.

The arrangement and exact location of these presents can be seen from Barrow's plan.

This Audience Hall seems to have been the scene of the ceremony attended by the embassy of the Dutch India Company on February 3, 1795, when they saw a dance performed by the *Shih Wei*, or Imperial Body-guard, and received a glass of wine from the Emperor's own hand.²⁶

Apparently this hall was also used as camp by the British soldiers who burned the Yuan Ming Yuan in 1860 and was the last place to which they set fire.²⁷

One of the accusations brought against Ho Shen, the favorite minister of Ch'ien Lung, in the indictment which led to his downfall early in the reign of Chia Ch'ing, was that he had the effrontery to ride on his horse through the left door of the second gate and past the Main Audience Hall. He was declared to be a man who did not recognize the duty due his father or his sovereign. "There is no greater crime than this."²⁸

"Chinese" Gordon, who was with the British forces at Peking when the French and British looted the Yuan Ming Yuan, bought the Emperor's throne. "Its supports are the Imperial Dragon's claws, and the cushions are of yellow Imperial silk. He presented it long afterwards to the headquarters of his corps at Chatham, where it now stands."²⁹ As there was more than one throne room at the Yuan Ming Yuan and the other palaces nearby, the throne that Gordon bought might have been from some of those places, but it may be that he got the one from this Main Audience Hall.

2. *Hall of Diligent Government* (Ch'in Cheng Ch'in Hsien, or translated, Diligent in Government and Friendly with Officials). This was a smaller audience hall connected with several adjacent courtyards lying just east of the Main Audience Hall. From the name by which it is called and the four-word motto which is attached to this group of buildings, and from the sentiments expressed by Yung Cheng and Ch'ien Lung relative to being on friendly terms with men of talent, we may infer that this group of buildings was largely used by the emperors, not only for ordinary audiences on matters of business, but also for conferences with officials and scholars on matters of literary and philosophical interest.

3. *The Emperor's Private Apartments* (Chiu Chou Ch'ing Yen, meaning, Nine Continents Clear and Calm). These apartments lay on an island directly north of the Main Audience Hall and across a small

²⁶Van Braam, *Embassy*, vol. ii, pp. 30-32.

²⁷M'Ghee, *How We Got to Peking*, pp. 283-89.

²⁸Ch'ing Tai Tung Shih, part 2, chap. 2, p. 202.

²⁹Boulger, *Life of Gordon*, p. 46.



THE EMPEROR'S PRIVATE APARTMENTS

A full-sized detail from the third view in the original woodcuts of the "Forty Pictures." In the foreground reeds and rocks show at the water's edge, and near the middle stands Yuan Ming Yuan Hall, the entrance to the central apartments. Only about a third of the buildings of the whole group are shown in this detail. The brush strokes of the artist reveal clearly the differences between several varieties of ornamental trees: the pines, both young and old, in the left foreground; the *yu-tung* tree in the upper left-hand corner; the old willow, with foliage of early spring, in the upper right-hand corner; and other trees not yet in leaf. The wood carver accurately preserved these fine brush strokes.

lake called Front Lake. The central building facing the lake on the south was called the Yuan Ming Yuan Hall.

North of this hall lay a wide courtyard, on which faced a large building of seven *ch'ien*; behind that another courtyard on which opened the building where hung Yung Cheng's inscription, *Chiu Chou Ch'ing Yen*, or Nine Continents Clear and Calm. The significance of this name is that the north front of the building faced upon the Back Lake, which was surrounded by nine islands, including the one on which the private apartments of the Emperor stood. Each of these nine islands formed one of the forty scenes, Numbers Three to Eleven, inclusive. Each differs from the others in size and shape, but each has buildings, artificial hills, and from two to four bridges connecting it with other islands or the mainland. The island occupied by the imperial residence is the largest of all and is so covered with buildings and courtyards that there is room for only a little ornamental rock work and almost no artificial hills. It is interesting to note that in the Ch'ing Hui Ko, one of the buildings in the western half of the Emperor's apartments, was hung the map of the whole Yuan Ming Yuan which had been painted in 1737 by Castiglione and five Chinese artists.³⁰

4. *The Peony Terrace* (Lou Yueh K'ai Yün, or Engraved Moon and Open Clouds). Mu Tan T'ai, or Peony Terrace, was the common name of this island because of the woody peonies which grew among the ornamental rocks on a terrace on the southern half of the island. Emperor Ch'ien Lung later wrote the name "Chi En T'ang," or Hall of Favors Received, for it was here, he said, that Emperor K'ang Hsi visited him when he was a child and thereafter heaped many favors upon him.

5. *A Painting by Nature* (T'ien Jan T'u Hua). A pavilion built on a high brick terrace overlooks a lily pool, some dwellings, a bamboo grove, and the waters of the Back Lake.

6. *Library of the Green Wu T'ung Trees* (Pi T'ung Shu Yuan). The *wu t'ung* tree, for which the writer has found no satisfactory translation in English, is often shown in Chinese paintings. It seems to be favored for its broad leaves and green bark. Four of these trees were standing in the courtyards on this island. Emperor T'ung Chih is said to have been born here.³¹

³⁰*Cf.* p. 62.

On the Official Map a piece of paper pasted over part of the map of this island shows a somewhat different arrangement of the buildings, seeming to indicate rebuilding after the original map was drawn. This is shown on map, p. 72.

A painter of palace scenes and architecture, named Chang, told the writer that Emperor T'ung Chih was born in the Shen Te T'ang. A hall of this name faces on the large courtyard in the western part of this island. But according to another tradition, Yuan's memorandum, T'ung Chih was born in "Pi T'ao Shu Yuan," probably meaning Number Six.

³¹Yuan's memorandum.

7. *Island of Shrines* (Tz'u Yün P'u Hu, or Merciful Clouds Universally Protecting). A three-storied bell tower with a sun dial on its south front, and shrines to Buddha, to the God of War, and to the Dragon King were grouped around a cove on the west side of this small island.

8. *The Island of the Zig-zag Bridges* (Shang Hsia T'ien Kuang, or Heavenly Light Above and Below). The main building was built on piles over the water, by which the name is explained. Long zig-zag bridges extended east and west from this building. A hexagonal pavilion stood about the middle of the bridge to the eastern part of the island; a longer pavilion of three *chien* stood on the bridge leading to the next island on the west.

9. *The Village of Apricot Blossoms* (Hsing Hua Ch'un Kuan, or the Springtime Lodge of Apricot Blossoms). This island bears the highest hill in the Yuan Ming Yuan with the possible exception of the hill of rocks in the very northwest corner. It is crowned by a stone gateway, like those sometimes found at strategic passes in the mountains, from which a good view of the surrounding islands, lakes, and streams can be obtained. Paths lead down north and south between rugged rocks. At the foot of the south slope of the hill lies the Apricot Flower Village.³²

10. *The Tank* (T'an T'an Tang Tang, or Tranquil and Vast). A rectangular tank with a building in the middle of it, called Kuang Feng Chai Yueh, or Bright Wind and Narrow Moon, approached by bridges from all four sides, distinguishes this island. The tank was no doubt stocked with the large red goldfish which amazed the European travelers who saw these fish for the first time in China.³³

11. *Ju Ku Han Chin* (meaning Seize the Old; It Contains the Present). A square building, with eight columns on a side and a double roof, dominates this group of many courtyards, just west of the Emperor's private apartments. This completes the group of Nine Islands.

12. *The Long Spring Lodge of the Immortal* (Ch'ang Ch'un Hsien Kuan). Just west of the Main Audience Hall lies this group of buildings where Ch'ien Lung studied before he came to the throne. Later he repaired it, and he sometimes entertained his mother there.

The Tsao Yuan, or Garden of Aquatic Grasses

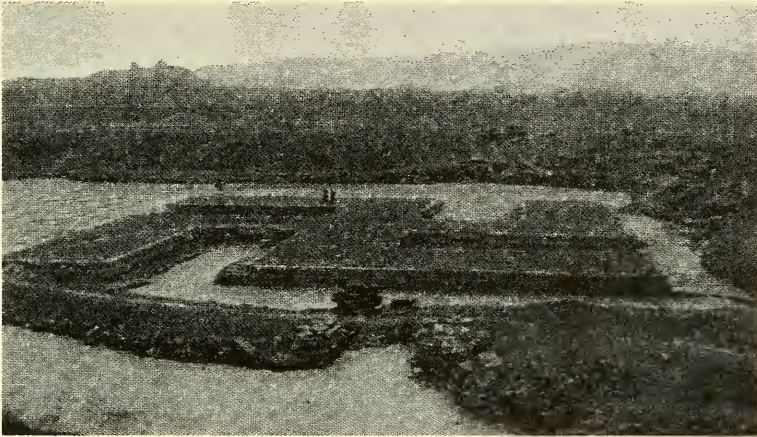
West of the Long Spring Lodge of the Immortal and in the far southwest corner of the Yuan Ming Yuan there was another group of buildings not listed in the "Forty Pictures," perhaps it was not important

³²In the scene in the "Forty Pictures" there are rustic buildings, a well, and vegetable gardens at the village. The Official Map, which is later in date, shows a lake in place of the vegetable gardens and more buildings in place of the well.

³³Van Braam, *Embassy*, vol. ii, p. 5.

enough, but more likely because it was built later.³⁴ It seems to have included an informal arrangement of buildings, pools, hills, and a boat-house. Its name, Ts'ao Yuan, has a double meaning, Garden of Aquatic Grasses, also Garden of Graceful Literary Composition.

13. *Swastika Building* (Wan Fang An Ho, literally meaning Ten Thousand Places Peace and Harmony, or more freely, Peace and Harmony Everywhere). The building in the form of a swastika, a symbol which is used as a Chinese character meaning ten thousand, and also Buddha's heart, is built on a foundation of brick and stone and is entirely surrounded by water. A poem written by Ch'ien Lung praised the view and the fresh air and said his father often came here. At the south end of the lake there is a much smaller building, which, by way of contrast with the building meaning ten thousand, is built in the shape of a cross, the Chinese character for ten.



RUINS OF SWASTIKA BUILDING

14. *Peach Blossom Cave* (Wu Ling Ch'un Se). Wu Ling is the name of a place on the Yangtze River, so the translation should be Spring Colors at Wu Ling.

Over the bridge north of the Swastika Building lies a group of buildings where Ch'ien Lung studied as a prince before he went to live in the Long Spring Lodge of the Immortal. On the east side of this group of buildings a canal runs through a cave under the hill, and out on the other side. The cave is called Peach Blossom Cave, suggesting a fabulous cave sometimes represented in Chinese art and fiction.

³⁴A brick dated 1751 was found here by the writer. The Ts'ao Yuan is shown on the official maps and described in the *Jih Hsia*. The "Forty Pictures" date from 1744.



SWASTIKA BUILDING SURROUNDED BY WATER
(Thirteenth view in the "Forty Pictures," later edition)

15. *The Drill Field* (Shan Kao Shui Ch'ang, or Hills High and Waters Long). The largest open field in the Yuan Ming Yuan was near the southwest corner of the garden. On the east side stood a two-story building from which the Emperor, his officials, and the ladies of the court could view the archery contests, where he could invite the embassies from tributary states to feasts and entertainments, and where fireworks could be displayed at the time of the Feast of Lanterns and at other occasions. The embassy of the Dutch East India Company were received here and saw several entertainments here in January and February, 1795. Once the Emperor received them in a great Tartar tent at sunrise, and again they were present at sunset to see the fireworks. The ladies of the court occupied the upper story of the building, which Van Braam thought very ordinary. His name for the square in front of the building, "San-cou-shui-tchung," is evidently the name spelled now-a-days "Shan Kao Shui Ch'ang." The trees shown in the pictures of 1744 had grown into such a thick grove that the place is described by Van Braam fifty years later as an open space in a wood, which they approached along a winding road lined with tall trees.³⁵

Across the stream opposite the building there was a half mile straight-away run for horses from the round tower on the north to the Ts'ao Yuan on the south. Near the round tower there was a little shrine to General Liu Meng, a protecting divinity.³⁶

16. *Yueh Ti Yün Chü* (Dwelling of the Moon, Earth, and Clouds). This mystical inscription is used as the name for a temple where the Buddha of Three Worlds was worshipped.³⁷ A smaller temple lay just east of this. Through the tall pines across the river could be seen the round fort and the distant hills.

17. *The Ancestral Shrine* (Hung Tz'u Yung Hu, or Vast Compassion and Eternal Blessing). The most monumental building in the Yuan Ming Yuan was the Ancestral Shrine in the northwest corner of the grounds. It was practically surrounded by the canal and by a ridge of hills over which white marble columns, and yellow-roofed *pailous*, walls, and dragon-decorated roofs rose among the dark foliage of the pines.

At the south end of the little peninsula on which this shrine is located there is a small amphitheater between the hills, in which stood a *pailou* surrounded by four splendid carved marble pillars. These four marble pillars, about twenty feet high, were deeply carved with dragons, water,

³⁵Van Braam, *Embassy*, vol ii, pp. 1-5, 27-28, 36, 44, 52-54.

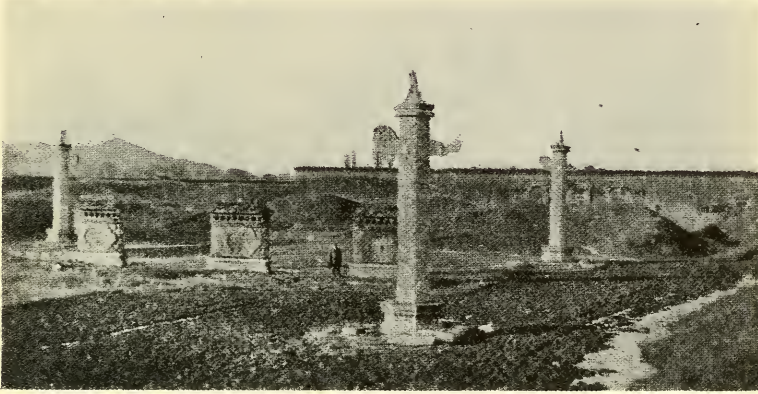
³⁶According to Jung Hua, retired officer of the Blue Banner Garrison.

³⁷It had a wall around the courtyard, central and side gates, drum tower, and bell tower in the center, a large square building with eight columns on each side and a double roof, two pavilions covering stone tablets, and at the rear a two-story building, possibly a library of Buddhist scriptures, and several other buildings.



THE ANCESTRAL SHRINE
(Seventeenth view in the "Forty Pictures," later edition)

clouds, rocks, and flame, each pillar being surrounded by a marble balustrade and surmounted by a fabulous animal. The four pillars, about a hundred feet apart, formed the corners of a square which surrounded a *pailou* at its center. This *pailou* was composed of four short walls framing three gates decorated with brightly colored glazed tiles. A grove of pines surrounds the pillars which are, nevertheless, clearly shown in the wood engraving, but quite obscured by the tall pines in the Paris paintings as reproduced in Combaz, Plate XXIII.



THE APPROACH TO THE ANCESTRAL SHRINE

In the foreground carved white marble pillars surrounded a *pailou*, now in ruins. The gates in the outer red wall of the shrine show in the background on the right.

From these pillars and *pailous* the path continues through an opening in the hills, passing on the east a small building where sacrifices were prepared. The moat is crossed by five marble bridges, the center one of which is intended for the Emperor alone. Beyond the bridges three *pailous* form a kind of screen before the gates in the outer wall of the shrine, and the stone figures of two *ch'i lin* guard the three middle gates but leave the two side gates for the eunuchs unprotected. The three middle gates are resplendent with green and yellow tile, and the high red wall which they pierce is also crowned with a yellow glazed tile roof.

Within this high red wall was an inner red wall, and the courtyard between them contains waiting rooms, another moat crossed by three white marble bridges and two smaller side bridges, two covered wells, and a splendid white marble terrace on which the gate of the inner wall stood. This terrace is ascended by three marble stairs and surrounded by a carved marble balustrade. Like the outer wall, the inner one is red and covered with a yellow glazed tile roof.

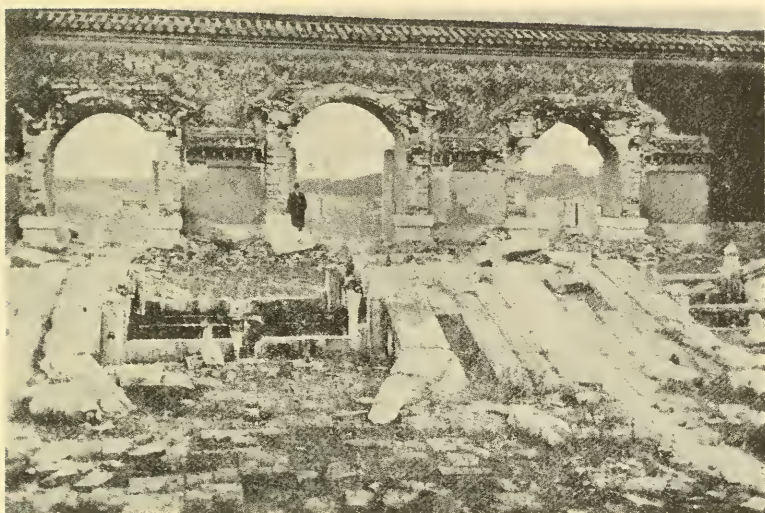
The front, or southern part, of the innermost court contains waiting rooms, two large green glazed tile incense burners, some pine trees and two pavilions with double roofs covering great marble monuments on which are carved the records of the Yuan Ming Yuan written by Yung Cheng and Ch'ien Lung, both in the handwriting of Ch'ien Lung.



CH'I LIN STANDING AMID THE RUINS OF THE OUTER WALLS OF THE
ANCESTRAL SHRINE WHICH HE FORMERLY GUARDED

A great white marble terrace rises on the north side of this inner court, on which stands the main hall itself. It is ascended by five stairways, the middle one being deeply carved with dragons. Incense burners and bronze figures of birds and animals stand on the terrace.

The An Yu Kung, or Palace of Peace and Help, was the name of the large Ancestral Shrine which rose on this terrace. It was in a sense the



GATES IN THE OUTER WALL OF THE ANCESTRAL SHRINE, LOOKING OUTWARD
TOWARD THE WHITE MARBLE PILLARS, 1916
Bridges over the moat show in the foreground.



INNER COURTYARD OF THE ANCESTRAL SHRINE

The terrace on which the main hall stood is surrounded with a white marble balustrade shown on the left. In the middle distance near the center stands one of the tablets on which the account of the Yuan Ming Yuan was carved. The two surrounding red walls show in the background.

most honorable building in the whole palace grounds.³⁸ It was built by Emperor Ch'ien Lung in 1742 at a cost of 600,000 taels.³⁹ The tablets and portraits of Emperors K'ang Hsi and Yung Cheng were placed here to be worshipped by the Emperor or his representative with sacrifices on the 1st and 15th days of each Chinese moon and on certain other festivals.

Even in their ruined condition these high red walls within walls, contrasting with the deep green of the pine foliage, the *pailous*, pavilions, and doorways richly decorated with yellow and green glazed tile, the carved white marble bridges, pillars, and terraces, and the huge pedestals for the great pillars which must have crowded the dark shrine room itself, leave the beholder with a deep impression of the beauty, majesty, and seclusion of this private family shrine of the Emperor.

By way of contrast with the great new shrine to Emperor Meiji in Tokyo, which occupies an extensive open park and is intended for the approach of a grateful people who desire to pay their respects, this shrine to Emperors K'ang Hsi and Yung Cheng was exclusively for the Emperor. Hence it was fitting that it should thus occupy a remote part of the imperial palace grounds and be enclosed within moats and hills and high walls. Both shrines have outer and inner courtyards with imposing gateways and inner shrines built of large wooden columns on masonry foundations. But while the Meiji shrine is built of unpainted wood, much masonry and brightly colored walls and tiles were used in the Chinese shrine. At both shrines tall, rugged pine trees were planted along the approaches both outside and inside the courtyard walls.

The Cold Hill, Han Shan

North of the Ancestral Shrine a wall runs eastward across the whole length of the Yuan Ming Yuan, cutting off a long section of the garden containing several palace buildings. In the very northwest end of this section stood a hill built up almost entirely of rocks, with paths leading to caves in the hill and pleasure houses on the summit. On the ninth of the Ninth Moon, when it is customary in China to climb some high place, the Emperor ascended this hill without going outside of his grounds.⁴⁰

18. *The Library of Collected Fragrance* (Hui Fang Shu Yuan). Several of the buildings here were two stories high. One of them was built on a wide curve on the edge of a pool from one end of which the path led over and through a rock garden.

³⁸It had ten pillars across the front, and there were others behind these, a total of forty for the building. The roof of yellow glazed tile was double, that is, it had two sets of projecting eaves.

³⁹*Yuan Ming Yuan Tse Li*, vol. xviii, p. 30, gives the date. A letter from Attiret written from Peking in 1743 gives this cost of the building erected in the previous year. Combaz, pp. 128-29.

⁴⁰Yuan's memorandum.

19. *A Buddhist Temple* (Jih T'ien Lin Yü, meaning literally Sun Heaven Topaz Roof, possibly meaning that the roof of the temple shines like the sun in heaven). Two-story buildings, connected by a bridge at the level of the second floor, and another bridge running out to a high rockery distinguished this temple.

20. *The "Field" Character Building* (Tan Po Ning Ching, meaning Placid, Contented, Peaceful, Quiet). This building lies about a quarter of a mile east of the Buddhist temple, Number Nineteen. Like the Swastika Building, it is in the form of a Chinese character. The square with a connecting cross in the middle dividing it into four squares, is the Chinese character for a field. It is appropriately located in a part of the imperial gardens where rice fields were cultivated.

21. *Ying Shui Lan Hsiang* (meaning Reflections on the Water and the Fragrance of Iris). A group of houses, ornamental rocks and bamboo under the tall pines where the fragrance of the nearby rice fields is wafted by the gentle breeze.

22. *Shui Mu Ming Se* (meaning A Stream and Trees and a Bright Lute). The building where this inscription was hung was built over a narrow water channel. In some way the current turned a revolving fan so that it made a sound, which to the ear of the poet sounded like "ling, ling," the sound of flowing water, and "se, se,"⁴¹ the sound of wind soughing through the trees.

On the site of the rice fields and the double-roofed pavilion which show in the background of this view, there was erected, many years later, a beautiful library, the Wen Yuan Ko, to house the *Ssu K'u Ch'uan Shu*.

The Wen Yuan Ko, Library of the Source of Literature

One of the greatest literary works of the reign of Ch'ien Lung was the collection of all the great works of literature grouped under four classes, the classics, history, philosophy, and miscellaneous, into the *Ssu K'u Ch'uan Shu*, or Complete Books of the Four Treasuries. The four favored spots to receive the four original copies of this collection were the Palace in Peking, the Palace at Mukden, the Palace at Jehol and the Yuan Ming Yuan. Special library buildings were built to house these books, the one at the Yuan Ming Yuan being called the Wen Yuan Ko, or Library of the Source of Literature.

In an account of the building of this library which the Emperor had carved on a large marble monument in 1774 and set in the courtyard, where it still stands among the ruins, he says that it was copied by

⁴¹Pronounced like the first two letters of the word *some*.

accurate measurements from the library of the Fan Family in Chekiang Province, which had been built more than 200 years before according to the best architectural traditions, and in spite of repairs still kept in its original form. The idea of the classical literature being a spring from which all literature flows out in a stream of many branches continuing from generation to generation is expressed in Ch'ien Lung's inscription.



HUGE MONOLITH OF WATER-WORN ROCK AT THE WEN YUAN KO, OR LIBRARY
OF THE SOURCE OF LITERATURE, WHICH ONCE STOOD JUST
BEHIND AND TO THE RIGHT OF THIS ROCK

It was carried out in the glazed tile decorations which show a wave design in white and green glaze, fragments of which may still be found among the ruins, also in the little pool in front of the library, and in the lavish use of water-worn rock in the garden surrounding the library, courtyard, and pool. The central point of interest in this rock garden was in the huge monolith with inscriptions on it and pierced with many holes, rising 12 or 15 feet from a stone terrace in the middle of the pool.

23. *Lien Hsi Lo Ch'u* (or the Happy Place of Falling Streams). Connected with some buildings which are located on an island, a long covered porch, in the shape of a hollow square with one of its sides on land, was supported on piles over the waters of the surrounding lotus pond. Other pavilions occupied the farther margin of the pond, and behind these rose a row of hills to shut out the outside world. Two little waterfalls on the outer margin of the lotus pond accounted for the title of the picture. The similarity to the scenery of West Lake was noted by the editor of the "Forty Pictures." The Official Map does not show the porch over the water nor an open pavilion on the rocks south of the island. These probably had been removed by the time the map was made. But the map does locate a stone foundation to represent a boat which stood in the water near the south shore of the lake. The Temple of the Goddess of Flowers stood on the narrow strip of land south of the lake and faced southward upon a canal.

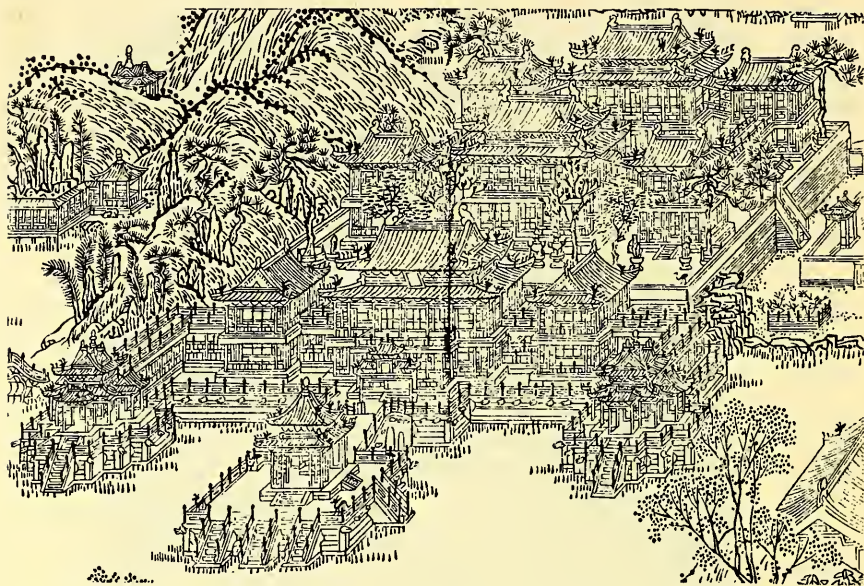
24. *To Chia Ju Yün* (or Crops Bountiful as the Clouds). From the few small buildings shown in this one picture the Emperor might look out over the lotus ponds and the peach trees on the hillside, catch the scent of grain fields blown in the wind, see the farmer in his grass raincoat and grass hat going to and fro, and remember that in older days the kings themselves plowed to indicate to the people the time for planting. There were extensive rice fields in this part of the garden.

25. *Yü Yueh Yo Fei* (or Fishes Leap and Birds Fly). The stream made a bend leaving a promontory on which was built a two-story building with windows on all sides. From this vantage point rice fields and villages of farmers could be seen.

26. *Pei Yuan Shan T'sun* (or Village of the Distant Northern Mountains). This was a row of farmers' houses by the stream near the north gate of the garden. A few houses in the row, built on piles over the water, and some bamboo fences were more reminiscent of the south than of the northern mountains for which the village was named. The flutes of the herdsmen and the songs of the fishermen reminded the Emperor of familiar pastoral poems.

27. *Hsi Feng Hsiu Se* (or the Elegant Color of the Western Peaks). Instead of facing south, as did most buildings in North China, both inside and outside the palace, the open pavilion, for which this group was named, faced west across the low rice fields, thus affording an unusually good view of the sunset sky. The courtyard just behind this pavilion contained between ten and twenty magnolia trees, which in blossoming season seemed like the "Kingdom of Fragrance." Yung Cheng enjoyed living here.

28. *Ssu I Shu Wu* (or the Library of the Four Delights). Ch'ien Lung copied this garden from the plans of the An Lan Yuan, or Garden of Peaceful Waves, belonging to the Ch'ien family, in Hai Ning, which he visited and enjoyed. Its four delights were flowers in spring, breezes in summer, the moon in autumn, and snow in winter. It was very close to the boathouses north of the Happy Sea.



FANG HU SHENG CHING

The central portion of the twenty-ninth view in the original woodcuts of the "Forty Pictures" is reproduced here two-thirds the original size. In the foreground three marble terraces extend into the lake with stairs leading to the water's edge to meet the imperial barge. Beyond these terraces stand three two-story buildings on the mainland, and beyond these stand six more two-story buildings, high on a brick-walled terrace from which doubtless comes the name, Fang Hu Sheng Ching, meaning Elevated Region of the Square Pot. Built by Ch'ien Lung in 1740, this was the most elaborate dwelling within the Yuan Ming Yuan proper.

29. *Fang Hu Sheng Ching* (literally translated Elevated Region of the Square Pot). It seems strange that this most elaborate palace which Ch'ien Lung built in the Yuan Ming Yuan proper should have a name no more elegant than that. The reason for it seems to be that the main buildings of this palace were erected on a large square terrace faced with brick. On this terrace there were two large buildings and four smaller side buildings, all of two stories and with elevated walks connecting their second stories. In the courtyards stood pines, magnolias, incense burners, and other ornaments and trees. On a lower terrace facing

on the lake south of the building were three similar two-story buildings connected by elevated walks. A bridge in the center and two piers at the side connected this lower terrace with three smaller terraces which extended into the lake, and from these terraces which were surmounted by open pavilions and surrounded with marble balustrades steps led down to the water's edge to welcome the imperial barge. Its twelve buildings roofed with golden glazed tile are compared to the palaces of the ancient Emperor Huang Ti. These palaces are said to be not the palaces of earth but of Fairyland. A smaller palace lies on the shore just east of the square terrace and another across the lake at the north. Other pavilions, a boathouse and ornamental rocks stand on the surrounding hills and the shores of the lake. This palace was built in 1740.⁴²

The Happy Sea

The south side of the lake before the Fang Hu Sheng Ching was connected by a narrow opening with the Fu Hai, or literally Happy Sea, which was also called the East Lake and was the largest lake in the Yuan Ming Yuan. It was roughly square in shape, measured almost a half mile on a side, and contained three small but beautiful islands in the middle. Eight of the forty views are devoted to this beautiful lake, its islands, shores, and surrounding hills. These are the next eight scenes in this list, Numbers Thirty to Thirty-seven.⁴³

30, 31, 33, 36, 37. These scenes show scattered houses, pavilions, terraces, and bridges which occupied the narrow strip of shore and the surrounding hills on the north, east, and west of the Happy Sea. They are interesting for their poetical names which signify Bathe the Person and Cleanse the Heart, Level Lake and Autumn Moon, the House Which Meets the Beauty of the Hills, Vast Empty Clear Mirror, and the Porch of the Great Gentleman.

32. *The Three Islands in the Happy Sea* (P'eng Tao Yao T'ai, meaning Paradise Island of the Enameled Green Terrace). The central island was occupied by a little palace courtyard, decorated with glazed tile, and connected by bridges with the smaller islands lying to the northwest and east. The one to the northwest was also covered with buildings, but the one to the east was a rustic retreat with a pavilion, rocks, and trees. The group was decorated according to the painting of the Houses on Fairy Mountain by the T'ang Dynasty artist, Li Ssu Hsun.

34. *Pieh Yu Tung T'ien* (meaning There Is Another Cave of Heaven). Beyond the hill at the southeast corner of the Happy Sea there stood a

⁴²*Yuan Ming Yuan Tse Li*, vol. 2, p. 33 and vol. 20, p. 8.

⁴³Some quotations from Attiret's description of these views are found on pp. 135 and 136.

fortified gateway over the stream resembling the water gate in a city wall. It led, as through a cave, to "another sky" and to a small lake surrounded by houses called Hsiu Ch'ing Ts'un, or Beautiful Pure Village.

35. *Chia Ching Ming Ch'in* (meaning The Double Mirror and the Sound of the Lute). The name taken from a poem by Li Ching Lien refers to a pavilion on a bridge on the south side of the Happy Sea from which one could look both ways upon the reflecting surface and at the same time listen to the sound of water running down over the rugged rocks from a temple-crowned hill nearby. A deep well can still be found on the top of this hill where the water was drawn by workmen to supply the music of the waterfall.

38. *The Granite Road South of She Wei Ch'eng* (Tso Shih Lin Liu, or the Stone Resting in the Running Water). Not far west of the Happy Sea a granite road between two rows of buildings, which included a theater and which looked like a business street in a city, crossed a bridge over a canal, and led up to a gate in a fortified wall like the entrance of a city. Beyond the buildings on the west of the road a little pavilion over a rocky stream, the only poetic spot in the neighborhood, gave the name to the picture of the whole group of houses and street. But the most unusual object in the group was the city wall. A *pailou* stood before it and over the gate was carved an inscription in large characters, She Wei Ch'eng, the Chinese term for Sravasti, an Indian city connected with the life of Buddha.⁴⁴ Inside the city wall there are red walled temples and on the north a gate similar to the one on the south.⁴⁵

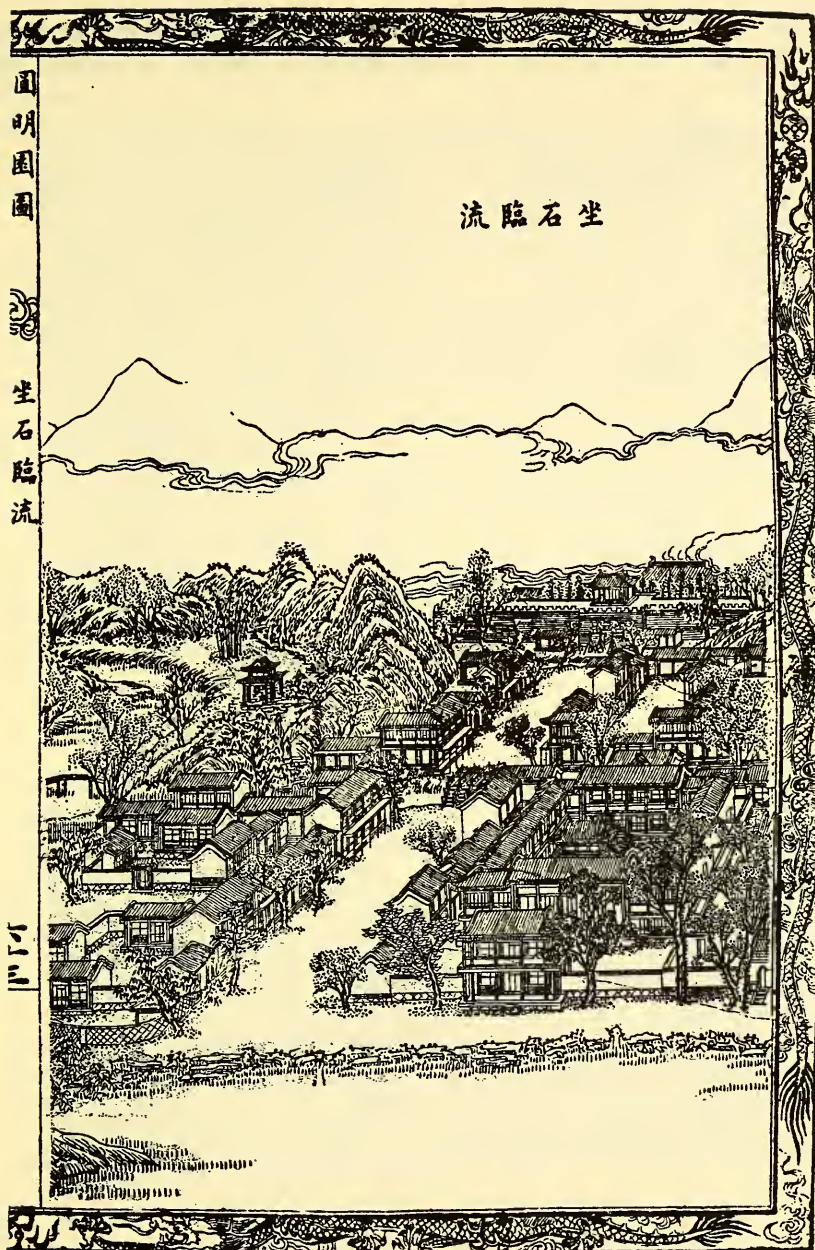
According to the description by Attiret⁴⁶ it was in the shops and along the granite road south of the She Wei Ch'eng that the fair for the amusement of the Emperor and ladies of the court took place. Temples, markets, shops, court-rooms, palaces, and a harbor were all provided that the inmates of the court, even including the Emperor, might see and participate in the bustle of business from which they were ordinarily excluded.

39. *Ch'ü Yuan Feng Ho* (or literally Yeast Courtyard, Wind, and

⁴⁴This might be translated literally, "Residence Guarding Wall." But it is, actually the name used by the famous traveler, Fa Hsien, in his *Fo Kuo Chi*, or Record of Buddha's Country, for Sravasti the chief town of the country of Kosala where many miraculous tales of Buddha are alleged to have taken place. Beal, *Buddhist Records*, introduction, p. xlv, and map opposite p. 1.

⁴⁵It seems likely that this is the building referred to as Fo Ch'eng, or Wall of Buddha, which was being built at the same time as the Fang Hu Sheng Ching, 1740, according to the *Yuan Ming Yuan Tse Li*, vol. ii, p. 33. The writer found in the ruins two pieces of yellow glazed tile which might have been the frame for an inscription, on one of which was inscribed the words She Wei Ch'eng, and on its mate the words "made in the 15th year," which probably refers to repairs or additions in the reign of Ch'ien Lung.

⁴⁶See pp. 136 and 137.



ROAD SOUTH OF THE SHE WEI CH'ENG

(Thirty-eighth view in the "Forty Pictures," later edition)

The theater is in the square courtyard at the right. Shops line both sides of the street which leads across a bridge to the gate of She Wei Ch'eng, or Sravasti, in the background. The New Year's Fair was held on this street.

Lotus, so called from a similar place of that name at the West Lake near Hangchow, where liquor was made in the Sung Dynasty). The building at the Yuan Ming Yuan which bore this name faced south on a pretty lotus pond crossed by a great curved bridge supported by nine arches and leading nowhere in particular. Its sole use was to cast its pretty reflection on the surface of the lake and form a part of a landscape.

40. *The Palace School, the Princes' Residences, and Studios* (Tung T'ien Shen Ch'u, or the Depth of the Vault of Heaven). The Palace School stood on two islands on the west side of this group. One of the buildings contained an inscription by Yung Cheng which stated that he and his brothers had studied there. All sons and grandsons of the Emperor were required to study in the Palace School whenever they were not being actively employed in public business.⁴⁷ East of this island school there were four dwellings arranged in a square as residences for the princes. Adjacent to the four dwellings was located the Ju I Kuan, or Sceptre Lodge, where the European artists, clock makers, and machinists worked in Ch'ien Lung's day.⁴⁸ The Fu Yuan Men, or Happy Garden Gate, stands in the outside wall of the Yuan Ming Yuan just south of this group of buildings, and three hundred yards directly east of the Great Palace Gate.

GARDEN PALACES ADJACENT TO THE YUAN MING YUAN

The Garden of Long Spring and the Ch'i Ch'un Yuan, or Garden of Variegated Spring, lie adjacent to the Yuan Ming Yuan on the east and southeast respectively, and are separated from it only by double walls. They both became imperial gardens in the reign of Ch'ien Lung and they are so closely identified with the older garden for most purposes that they are usually included in the general term Yuan Ming Yuan. When they are not so included the term "Yuan Ming Yuan proper" has been used. The "Forty Pictures" show only the Yuan Ming Yuan proper.

The writer has found neither pictures nor descriptions for the gardens and buildings in the Ch'i Ch'un Yuan, which probably became an imperial garden in 1774,⁴⁹ but the Official Map and the ruins show that it was very

⁴⁷*Lettres édifiantes*, vol. xxxiii, edition of 1776, pp. 148-49. Benoit's letter of Nov. 1, 1773.

⁴⁸It is mentioned several times in a letter from Father Benoit, or Benoist, written from Peking, Nov. 4, 1773, *Lettres édifiantes*, vol. xxxiii, edition of 1776, pp. 150-209. The Official Map shows a new and presumably later arrangement of the buildings on a paper pasted over the old one.

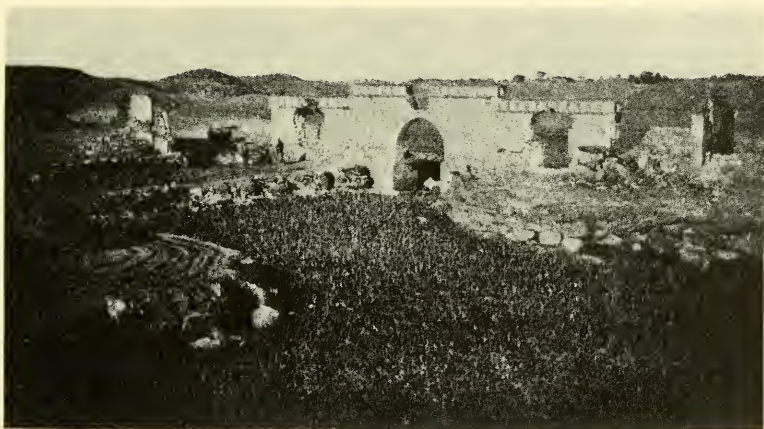
⁴⁹The *Ta Ch'ing Hui Tien* under the topics *Yuan Yu* and *Nei Wu Fu*, *Yuan Ming Yuan*, mentions the appointment of officials and workmen to care for the Ch'i Ch'un Yuan in 1774. Presumably it became an imperial garden at that date.

much like the adjacent gardens. The only noticeable difference is that its western half was cut up into many small gardens by dividing walls.⁵⁰



GATE OF THE CH'I CH'UN YUAN

Rebuilt after 1860 by the Empress Dowager and renamed Wan Ch'un Yuan



A WATER GATE IN ONE OF THE MANY WALLS WHICH DIVIDE THE
CH'I CH'UN YUAN

⁵⁰It is likely that some of these at least may be due to the acquisition of smaller princely gardens from time to time, as in a case mentioned in the *Ch'ing Ch'ao Yeh Shih Ta Kuan*, vol. ii, p. 66, when a garden granted to a princess reverted, on her death, to the emperor and was added to the Ch'i Ch'un Yuan.

EIGHT SCENES IN THE GARDEN OF LONG SPRING

The new garden which the Emperor constructed in 1751 just east of the Yuan Ming Yuan he called the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan,⁵¹ or Garden of Long Spring. He took the name from the Ch'ang Ch'un Hsien Kuan, or Long Spring Lodge of the Immortal, the group of palace buildings within the Yuan Ming Yuan where Ch'ien Lung studied as a prince.⁵²

Ch'ien Lung kept building here for some years after 1751. This garden was about a third as large as the Yuan Ming Yuan proper, of which it is commonly called the Eastern Garden. The buildings were similarly arranged on islands surrounded by artificial hills but with somewhat wider spaces between the buildings and fairly large lakes.

There were eight chief groups of buildings in the Garden of Long Spring.⁵³ These included:

Number One. The Audience Hall which stood just inside the main south gate of the garden.

Number Two. A palace on the large island in the center of the garden which was almost as large as the emperor's private palace in the Yuan Ming Yuan, and contained an inscribed stone tablet to Emperor Yü the Great which had been handed down from several dynasties before the Sung. Hither Ch'ien Lung is said to have retired after his abdication.⁵⁴

Numbers Three, Six, and Eight. Three pretty gardens on the shores of long lakes with summer houses and porches surrounding irregular pools, extensive rockeries, and pavilions.

Numbers Four, Five, and Seven. Three palace groups on islands, one of which was on a round terraced island ascended by four flights of steps, surrounded by a white marble balustrade and approached only by boat. The other groups were all connected by bridges with the mainland, or with other islands.

Several of these palace and garden groups were copies from southern gardens. In 1757 when Ch'ien Lung first visited one of these, Number Four, he said it was as though he could see a thousand *li*, for it seemed as though he were again in the garden of the Wang Family at Nan P'ing, which he had seen in 1751. The Lion Grove, Number Six, was patterned from a garden of that name in Che-kiang, and the Ju Yuan, or Garden of Likeness, Number Eight, and its pools, bamboos, rockeries, and flower beds arranged like those of the provincial treasurer's yamen in Nanking.

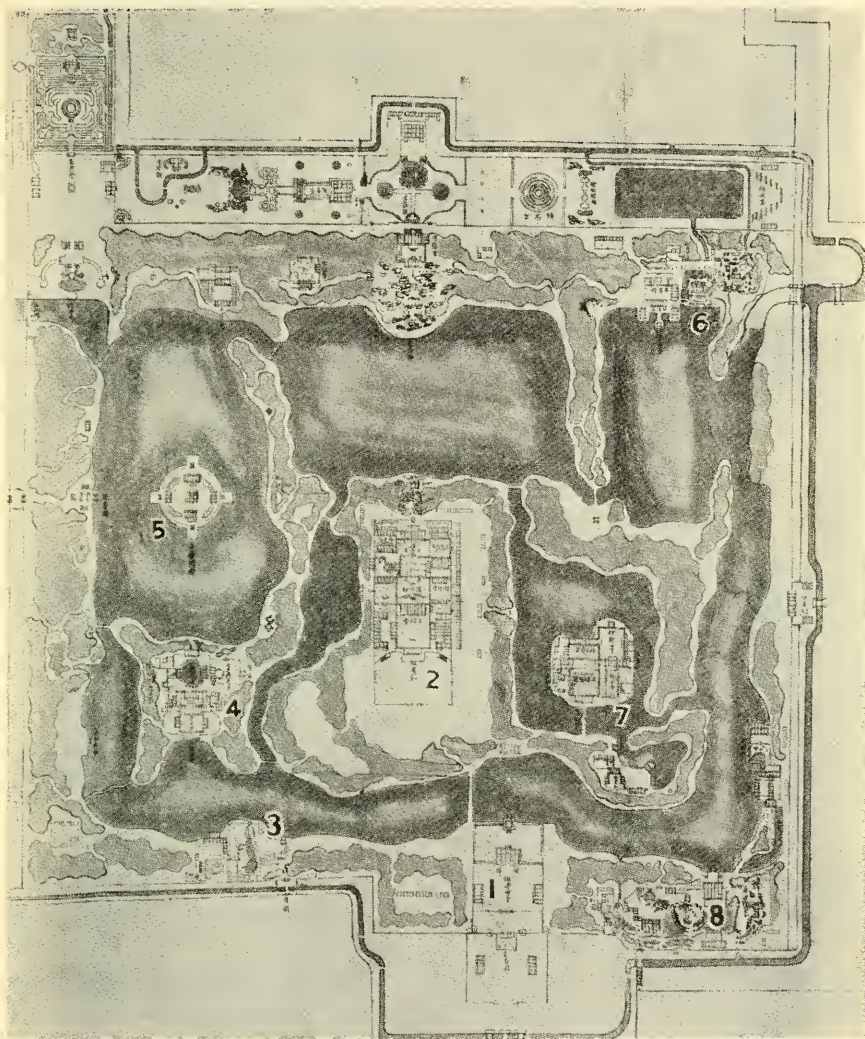
⁵¹While the name of this garden is spelled with the same English letters as those used for K'ang Hsi's villa, the meaning, character, and tone of the word "Ch'ang" in the two names are different in Chinese. To avoid confusion the writer uses the English translation for this Garden of Long Spring.

⁵²It was the Twelfth of the "Forty Scenes" of the Yuan Ming Yuan; *Ta Ch'ing Hui Tien*, Nei Wu Fu, Yuan Ming Yuan; *Jih Hsia*, vol. lxxxiii.

⁵³Listed and described in the *Jih Hsia*, vol. lxxxiii.

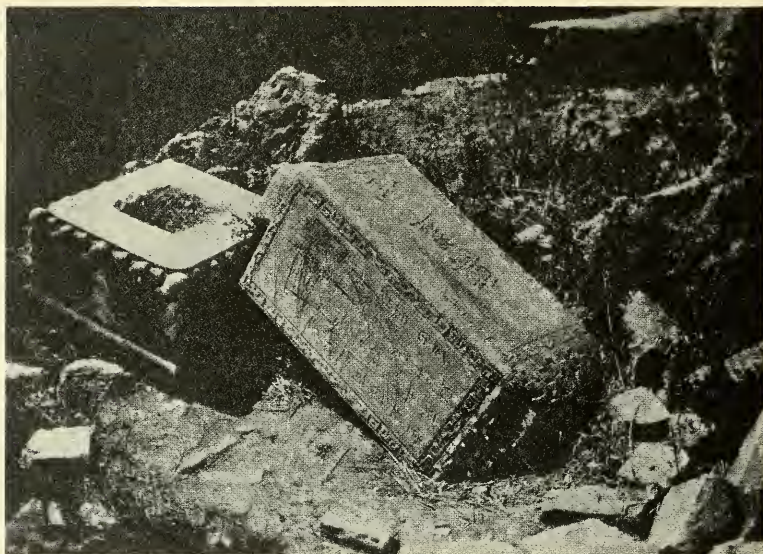
⁵⁴Yuan's memorandum.

The only building of any description in the whole Yuan Ming Yuan group which was not built square with the cardinal points of the compass was a small pavilion which faced northeastward upon a little bay surrounded by hills a hundred yards north of the Ju Yuan, Number Eight.

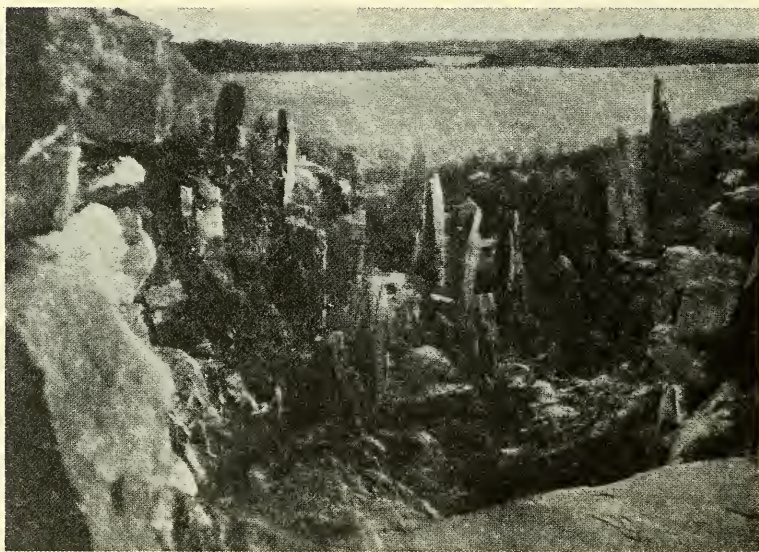


A PORTION OF THE OFFICIAL MAP OF THE GARDEN OF LONG SPRING

The large figures have been added by the writer and refer to the eight principal groups of buildings described on page 98. The Foreign Buildings described on pages 138-160 occupied a narrow strip across the northern side of this garden.



ORNAMENTAL MONUMENT BY CH'IENT LUNG IN GROUP NUMBER EIGHT
IN THE GARDEN OF LONG SPRING



ROCK GARDEN NORTH OF GROUP NUMBER TWO
IN THE GARDEN OF LONG SPRING

A few other places in the Garden of Long Spring are worth mentioning. One of these was the very extensive rock garden on the north shore of the lake, north of the central palace group. Another was a glazed tile pagoda, square below, octagonal in the middle, and round at the top.⁵⁵ It stood in a temple on the shore north of the round island, Number Five. The East Gate of the Garden of Long Spring is said to have



STONE LION GUARDING THE EAST GATE
OF THE GARDEN OF LONG SPRING

been the one through which Emperor Hsien Feng fled to Jehol in 1860,⁵⁶ and to have been rebuilt by the Empress Dowager Tz'u Hsi.⁵⁷

It was in a narrow strip on the north side of this Garden of Long Spring that Ch'ien Lung had his group of foreign buildings built by the Jesuit priests.⁵⁸

⁵⁵This stood until 1900, according to an old man named Lu, who lived among the ruins of the foreign buildings nearby.

⁵⁶By Ts'un Feng.

⁵⁷By Huang Ju Lan.

⁵⁸Described in chap. vi, pp. 141-160.

CHAPTER V
OTHER SUMMER PALACES IN THE REIGN OF
CH'IENTUNG

THE CH'ANG CH'UN YUAN

After Yung Cheng's persecutions of the Catholic Church, the Jesuits naturally hailed the accession of a new emperor with joy. They wrote hopefully to Europe of the sweet and beneficent disposition of the young Emperor, of his generosity and clemency toward the people, and especially toward the princes of his own family. One of his early acts of clemency which was popular with the people took place at his grandfather's palace, the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan, where his uncle, the fourteenth son of K'ang Hsi, was still kept in prison, by orders of Yung Cheng. Father Parrenin,¹ writing from Peking, in October, 1736, describes the scene:

The 17th of January of this year the Emperor caused to be summoned the President of the Reguli, that is, the twelfth son of K'ang Hsi. His Majesty gave him his orders, which no one else knew. But on going out of the palace, he was seen to depart with all his princely equipage to repair to the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan, where, it is said, he had imprisoned the fourteenth son of K'ang Hsi, of whom no one spoke any more, and who many believed was no longer alive. He had to open many doors to come to the prisoner, who was still ignorant of the death of his brother and of the elevation of his nephew to the throne, for the walls of the prison were so thick that he was able to hear nothing of what happened or of what was said outside.

I leave you to judge, my Reverend Father, the joy and surprise of this prince, when after having been as good as buried for twelve years, they led him out of the horror of his gloom. Passers-by stopped at the place where they saw the equipage of the Regulus, who had entered the prison. It had already been discovered what was happening, and everyone wished to witness the deliverance of the unfortunate prince. The news spread to Peking, and as the palace of the Fourteenth Prince is so near the gate by which one enters the city, the people ran together in a crowd, and as a testimony of their joy they kneeled, striking the earth before them and holding incense in their hands.

The letter tells also of the previous release of the Prince's son, Poki, of the later release of the tenth son of K'ang Hsi, and adds:

When the news was published, all Peking applauded the good nature and humanity of the Emperor, each one extolled him in his own way, and for many days praises for the goodness of his heart were the topics of all conversations.

¹*Lettres édifiantes*, vol. xxiii, edition of 1738, pp. 20-29.

This palace, where the dramatic deliverance of the Fourteenth Prince took place, had occasionally been the residence of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung when he was a prince, in the reigns of both K'ang Hsi and Yung Cheng. After he came to the throne he invited his mother to reside at the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan, and frequently went there to inquire after her health. The official records contain accounts of many of these visits of filial piety, giving the dates, the names of the apartments where the Emperor lodged, ate, inspected the grain fields, and displayed his skill in archery for the amusement of his mother,² and the poems which he wrote in honor of the occasion or in memory of his youth when he dwelt here. Once he visited his mother in the Hsi Hua Yuan, nearby. After one visit lasting for three days the Emperor took his mother to visit the Eastern Tombs and Tientsin.

At another time he came to the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan by way of the canal which ran through the rice fields south of the garden, near the Village of the Myriad Springs.³ Here stood a temple which had been used by K'ang Hsi, the Sheng Hua Ssu, or Temple of the Holy Flowers, and nearby the Ch'uan Tsung Miao, or Temple of the Springs, built by Ch'ien Lung in 1767 in honor of the seventy-two springs within its precincts, all named by stone tablets in the Emperor's own handwriting. The water from these springs fed the lakes within the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan. White marble *pailous* were erected outside the temple, and beautiful rock gardens within. From one of his trips to the Yangtze Valley Ch'ien Lung once brought back a nun to whom the latter temple was assigned as a residence.⁴ The imperial barges were kept in a boathouse just south of the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan.⁵

One of his poems relating to this region, picked at random, was written on a boat going from the Hsi Yuan, or Western Meadows, just northwest of the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan, to the Sheng Hua Ssu, in the summer of 1743.⁶

A myriad springs in ten *li*—a country of water and clouds.

Having leisure to visit this temple, we go in the cool of the morning.

Cicadas chirp among the willows on both banks of the stream.

On this light swift boat our garments are filled with the fragrant breeze from the rice fields.

One tradition of Ch'ien Lung's mother who lived in the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan alleges that she loved so well the melodious sound of the hammers of the coppersmiths in their shop in Hai Tien, just outside the southeast

²See pp. 24 and 25.

³*Jih Hsia*, vol. lxxvi, pp. 1-34.

⁴Wen Chi Ju; *Ho Shih Lu*, pp. 41-42.

⁵*Jih Hsia*, vol. lxxvi, p. 22, quoting *Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan Ts'e*.

⁶*Yü Chih Shih*, Ch'ien Lung, first collection, vol. xv.

corner of her garden, that the workmen were ordered to keep their hammers playing even when they had no work to do.⁷

She often went out of her garden to the Ch'ing Fan Ssu, a temple close to the coppersmith's shop, where her son, the Emperor, maintained in some splendor a priest who was considered to be his substitute. This was, perhaps, in imitation of the famous Emperor Wu Ti, 502-549 A.D., of the Liang Dynasty, who more than once abdicated and retired to a monastery as a monk, refusing to resume the reins of government until he was redeemed from his vows by the payment of large sums to the monastery.

Another tradition ascribes the erection of the bell tower which stood outside the south wall of the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan to this same Empress Dowager. Several times the official, Liu Yung, had come to see her on matters of importance, but was always put off by the eunuchs with the excuses that she was sick or dining or sleeping, until the Empress Dowager took him to task for not coming. When he explained the situation to her she was very angry, and in order to prevent a repetition of the occurrence, had this belfry built and a large bell hung in it which he might strike when the eunuchs refused to admit him. The story throws some light on the powers of the eunuchs, but the fact that this belfry appears in the picture of the birthday procession of K'ang Hsi, proves that the tradition is incorrect in ascribing it to Ch'ien Lung's time.⁸

This bell is also said to have been used by other suppliants who claimed they could not get justice from the Emperor's officials and thus appealed directly to the Emperor or his mother. Similarly subjects with grievances sometimes broke through the lines of guards when the Emperor was traveling. They carried in their hands a written statement of their wrongs, and crying "Injustice," kotowed directly before His Majesty. As a protection against the abuse of this method of direct appeal, the suppliants were always first beaten for disturbing the peace, but their appeals were always noticed.

Near the southwest corner of the Empress Dowager's garden was the Wu I Chai, or No Idleness Study, the apartment which Ch'ien Lung occupied when he came to visit her. As this apartment was near to his mother's, he could easily bid her good night and ask if she had risen in the morning. When she was sick he could help her with her medicine and when at last she died in 1777, it was here that he put on his mourning garments for her.⁹

On the east side of the garden close beside the En Yu Ssu, a temple

⁷Told to the present writer by Wen Chi Ju.

⁸Story told by Wen Chi Ju, and Huang Ju Lan. Picture in *Wan Shou Sheng Tien*. Bell Tower shown in picture of Gate of Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan, p. 36.

⁹*Jih Hsia*, vol. lxxvi.

which Yung Cheng had erected in honor of K'ang Hsi, Chien Lung erected another temple in the same style of architecture in honor of his mother. It was called the En Mu Ssu.¹⁰

Just north of this pair of temples the road crosses a small stream by a rather inconspicuous bridge, the Lu Tou Ch'iao, or Stove Peck Bridge. This name illustrates the great Emperor's belief in *feng shui*, or the supernatural influences of the wind, water, and natural configuration of a place, and his method of devising a charm to counteract the good *feng shui* of his neighbor when he thought it dangerous to his own good luck. The *feng shui* which he feared in this case was that of the



THE EN YU SSU, TEMPLE TO EMPEROR K'ANG HSI (ON THE RIGHT)
The En Mu Ssu, temple to Ch'ien Lung's mother, is near the center;
the shadow walls are at the left.

Shao Yuan, or Ladle Garden, which included part of the present site of Yenching University. The Ladle Garden had been laid out in the Ming Dynasty by an official whose family name was Mi, or Rice. Because there was only a ladleful of water in the garden and because he thought that a ladle was a suitable container for the Rice family, he named his new garden Ladle Garden. Shortly after this Marquis Li Wei, whose family name meant Plum, established his beautiful and famous park just west of Ladle Garden on the site occupied later by the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan. Both parks were so beautiful that a certain Grand Secretary of the Ming Dynasty is reported to have praised their delicious flavor, saying: "The Rice garden is not tasteless nor the Plum garden

¹⁰See p. 47.

sour." Long after the Ming Dynasty had fallen and the Plum family's garden had become an imperial park, the Rice family still lived prosperously in their delightful Ladle Garden, a spot so charming that it aroused the jealousy of the superstitious Ch'ien Lung. There seemed to be no



THE EN MU SSU (FROM THE ROAD)

The shadow wall at the right, and the temple entrance have been recently repaired by Yenching University.

limit to the good luck which such *feng shui* might bring to the Rice family. Even the imperial throne might not be beyond the reach of such mysterious powers. Means must be found to break the spell. The craft of the Emperor was equal to the task. On the main road just in front of the dangerously lucky villa he built a small bridge, simply called it Lu

Tou Ch'iao, or Stove Peck Bridge, and his charm was complete. The stove would consume the wooden rice-ladle, and the peck measure would dispose of the Rice. The good luck of the family was apparently ruined. The beauty of the garden gradually declined, and after a time it passed into the hands of the Prince Mo Er Kun, by whose name it was known until it was acquired by Yenching University.¹¹



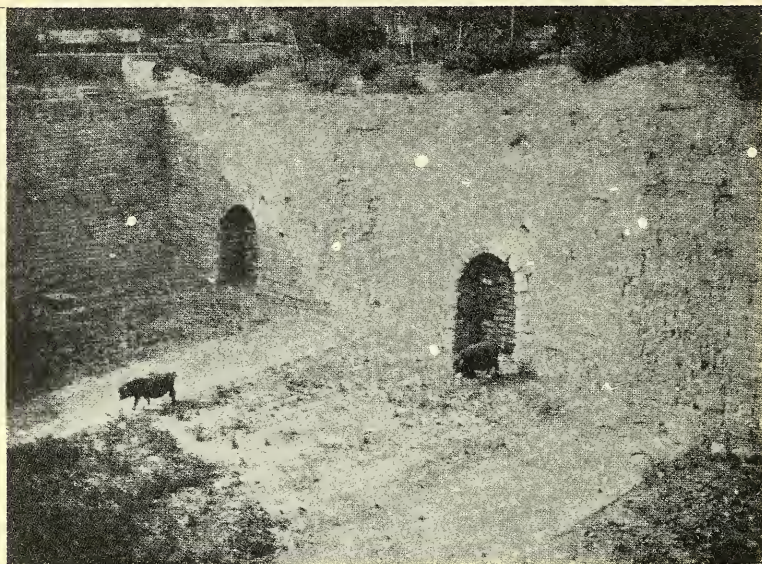
MILITARY REVIEW TOWER NEAR THE CH'ANG CH'UN YUAN

The name Hsi Yuan, or Western Meadows, is today applied to the barracks which now stand on the old cavalry parade ground of that name. It lay west of the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan and north of the Hsi Hua Yuan. The north side of this ground is still marked by a massive brick structure which rises above the roofs of the low shops and buildings which cater to the soldiers in the nearby barracks. On a terrace 88 feet square by 6 feet high, is built a brick platform 20 feet high, entered by three gates on the south and three on the north. Over the central gate a white marble tablet is inscribed with both Chinese and Manchu characters meaning Military Review Tower, and with the seal of Ch'ien Lung. Under the tile-roofed pavilion which surmounted this platform the Emperor could view the maneuvers of his cavalry.

The Tiger Pit, another brick structure dating from Ch'ien Lung's day, stands several hundred yards east of the Military Review Tower. Its present ruins show a structure about 80 feet square, and 20 feet high, ascended by a ramp from the southeast side. The walls are about 12 feet thick at the base and 6 feet at the top. On the top, stone pedestals for columns show that there was once a roof to shade the spectators on the wall. One story which the writer heard was that every year before the

¹¹*Ho Shih Lu*, p. 7; *Jih Hsia*, vol. lxxix; *Shun T'ien Fu Chih*.

reign of Tao Kuang, 1820-1850, a tiger symbolizing rebellion was killed, just as Lama priests cut up small men of dough representing demons to ward off real evil spirits.¹² Rebellion and heresies are called by the Chinese word *hsieh*, meaning *crooked*; and this may account for the fact that this tiger pit faces the southeast, an orientation which is certainly *crooked* from the Chinese point of view.



THE OLD TIGER PIT NEAR THE CH'ANG CH'UN YUAN, NOW USED FOR A PIG PEN

According to another tale the Emperor Ch'ien Lung once found a very different use for this fierce animal. In 1756, a Buddhist priest coming from afar sent a memorial to Prince Chih making extraordinary claims for himself. He could raise the wind, he said; he could bring rain; dragons and tigers all feared him. When the prince reported this matter to the Emperor with the recommendation that this dangerous person be put to death, the Emperor thought that instead of putting him to death immediately, it was more important to dispel the delusion which these claims to supernatural powers might have spread among the people and so make it more difficult for others to attempt to make similar dangerous claims. Hence the Emperor ordered that the priest be thrown into the Tiger Pit actually to try out his claims. The rest of the story is a sad anti-climax. The priest and the tiger fought for a whole day, until

¹²According to T'sun Feng, who added that Tao Kuang stopped the practice of sacrificing a tiger but continued to keep tigers in this pit.

both were exhausted, so that, after all, the priest had to be taken to the execution grounds.¹³ The fact was that the tigers which were loosed to be killed by the Emperor were often starved until they were not very dangerous.

CH' IEN LUNG'S RECORDS OF BUILDING AT THE WAN SHOU SHAN

It was not many years after Ch'ien Lung had carved on the monument in the Ancestral Hall his "Record of the Yuan Ming Yuan," before he himself began to disregard the advice which he had offered his descendants. The new spot which attracted him was the hill which, before his time, was known as the Weng Shan, or Jar Hill, and was the source which supplied the water for the Jade River, or canal, to Peking. This source, he learned from a tablet of the Yuan Dynasty, originally was a body of water called the Pai Fu at the Jar Hill. High on the side of this hill his monument, a huge marble tablet, still stands today giving his reasons for his construction of the great east dike of the present lake in the New Summer Palace, of his naming of the K'un Ming Lake so formed, and of his bestowing a more honorable name, Wan Shou Shan, or Hill of Imperial Longevity, on the hill. The monument is dated 1750, and reads in part as follows:

If transportation and irrigation are provided for, there will be no fear of drought. If the waters are collected and regulated, they will not vex the land with earth and sand. They must not be allowed to wander unchecked. Hence we ordered that the marshes, sand, reeds, and pools lying in front of Weng Shan be cleared out and that the water be connected with the West Lake. At the time of the excavation the depth of the new lake was twice that of the old one. The excavator feared that there would not be enough water to fill it, but when it was finished it filled up like a great sea. It contained many times as much water as the former lake. It was also feared that in summer and fall the collected waters might rise and cause floods, if no precautions were taken such as the ancients knew and used. Hence dikes and sluices and underground conduits were constructed which are to open and close at certain times that we may be prepared beforehand in case the waters rise. The water is conducted southeastward that the people may receive the benefit. Before this time the moat of Peking had less than one foot of water in it. Now it has three feet. Formerly Hai Tien had no rice fields. Now they are increasing daily. . . . When the lake was finished, I bestowed the new names, Wan Shou Shan for the hill and K'un Ming Hu for the lake. The lake resembles the ancient lake of that name, and I wish also to use this lake for naval practice. From the ever flowing spring at the foot of the Jar Hill I have given the new name to the hill, Wan Shou Shan, Hill of Imperial Longevity. This year the Empress Dowager celebrates her 60th birthday. The Yen Shou Ssu has been built at the foot of the Hill and I shall write a separate account of that temple. This present tablet is set up to commemorate the

¹³*Ho Shih Lu*, p. 40.

forming of the K'un Ming Lake and the Yuan Dynasty record of the source of the canal.¹⁴

In this same year and the years following the Emperor issued various regulations for naval practice on this lake, by the Manchu soldiers of the new Chien Jui Garrisons of crack troops which he had just settled near



VIEW FROM THE ISLAND IN THE K'UN MING LAKE TOWARD THE TEMPLES
ON THE WAN SHOU SHAN

the Hsiang Shan. He brought 10 instructors and 110 sailors from the naval stations at Foochow and Tientsin to train his Manchu troops. Twenty-four new boats were to be made; four ordinary reviews were to be held every ten days; and once every ten days, a grand review. By 1768 he commanded 1000 of the Ch'ien Feng, or pioneer troops, to learn naval warfare. Each of the Manchu Banners was to have its flags of the appropriate color and a gold dragon painted in the middle.¹⁵

The Emperor also wrote an account of the building of the great temple on the south slope of the Wan Shou Shan facing on the lake. This he constructed and furnished in honor of his mother's sixtieth birthday and his record portrays the delight of his mother in the splendors of the new temple and the beauties of the Buddhist services.

My Holy Mother, the Empress Dowager, Eminently Fortunate, Manifestly Merciful, Peaceful and Gracious, Sincerely Agreeable, Liberal and

¹⁴*Jih Hsia*, vol. lxxxiv.

¹⁵*Ta Ch'ing Hui Tien*, section 1168.

Venerable,¹⁶ is naturally kind and benevolent, treating people with consideration and grace. She meets all under Heaven with justice, wherefore all within our realm honor her.

In the 16th year of Ch'ien Lung, when the Empress Dowager was sixty years of age, the Emperor led the people, officials and subjects, to honor her ceremonially, to pour wine for her birthday. . . .

Where the sunny slopes of the Jar Hill, which I have renamed Hill of Imperial Longevity, face the lake, I have built a temple called Ta Pao En Yen Shou Ssu, Monastery of Requited Virtue and Prolonged Old Age. It has more than a thousand rooms, a nine-story pagoda, buildings on both sides like wings, gold and green and brilliant with glowing incense and lighted lamps. On precious leaves we write our congratulations.

I, who have sometimes failed to be a filial son, who have not always repaid her kindness as I wish, . . . have built this temple and assembled priests to chant their scriptures, hoping thus to requite to some extent my Mother's goodness. On appropriate occasions and at the proper places I desire to express my love for her.

My Mother's benevolence is like a great cloud which refreshes flowers, trees and grass. . . .

This mountain decked with gold is a garden of prayer to Buddha to requite such benevolence. The golden dew plate shines in the sun, reflecting its light on the clouds. The breeze stirs the wind bells under the eaves and carries their notes beyond the sky. Everywhere resounds the booming of the drums. Amid these delightful scenes the scriptures are being chanted for the eminent, prolonged, and extensive happiness of my mother and for her long life without measure. From this day on, this temple shall be a pleasant grove, a kingdom of incense. When I have leisure I shall accompany my Mother hither.

Before the temple spreads a lake, sweet as koumiss. Behind it rises a high green mount protecting it. The monastery is extensive. The pagoda is tall and resplendent with glazed tile. The terrace appears to be of jade. The trees and flowers are brightened by the splendor of the pagoda. Their fragrance is that of costly incense. The friendly breeze brings to our ears the songs of the birds of Ch'ieh Ling.¹⁷ My mother's benevolent heart sincerely honors the doctrines of Buddhism. She is charmed with the scene, she clasps her hands in devotion, and her face beams with joy, a joy which comes partly from what I have done for her.

After further explaining his fears that he cannot properly honor his mother, he describes the carved seal of fine jade and the jade *ch'ing*, an L-shaped musical instrument, the gold dew-plate,¹⁸ pure and spotless, "a thousand feet high" above the temple, the lotus pedestals, the costumes of the priests, the images and other beauties of the new temple.

This important birthday was celebrated also at the Wan Shou Ssu, the Temple of Imperial Longevity, which stands beside the canal about two miles south of the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan. The temple was repaired and

¹⁶These adjectives represent honors conferred by the Emperor.

¹⁷A Buddhist country in the West.

¹⁸The dew-plate was supposed to collect dew which was absolutely pure and possessed of magical properties.

imperial apartments were fitted up for the reception of the Emperor and his mother. Along the road which runs directly north from this temple toward Hai Tien and the Empress Dowager's residence, the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan, the Emperor built for the amusement of his mother a street of shops called Soochow Street. It contained bazaars, business streets, *pailous*, side lanes, all in imitation of the towns south of the Yangtze which the old lady had enjoyed on her journey to the south with him.¹⁹ But the enjoyment of the scene consisted in the animation with which the shops carried on their business. This Soochow Street was probably carrying out on a larger scale the scene which was sometimes presented by the eunuchs inside the palace at the Yuan Ming Yuan.

Another incident in the celebration of this sixtieth birthday took place in the winter—the trip to Peking on sleds on the canal. At the Kao Liang Bridge near the Hsi Chih Gate of Peking, Ch'ien Lung built the I Hung T'ang, or Hall of the Rainbow, where his mother might stop and rest when she changed from the sled to the sedan chair by which she continued the journey to the palace in the city.²⁰ Just south of the canal stood the boathouses for the imperial barges used when the court made the journey to and from the country palaces in summer.

Ten years later when the Empress Dowager celebrated her seventieth birthday Ch'ien Lung repaired in her honor and for her comfort both the Wan Shou Ssu and the Five Pagoda Temple. These were the only temples facing on the canal which contained imperial apartments.²¹

Also in the year of his mother's seventieth birthday celebration Ch'ien Lung wrote a record commemorating the completion of the buildings for the garden at Wan Shou Shan, which he named Ch'ing I Yuan, or Garden of Clear Ripples. He had actually done what he had said in his "Record of the Yuan Ming Yuan" that no emperor need to do. He had built another garden palace. He begins his new record by references to his previous inscription of ten years before, commemorating the formation of the K'un Ming Lake and the renaming of the Wan Shou Shan. His statements explaining the occasion for this new record need not be repeated in detail. Then come his apologies, pitifully feeble. Behold the magnificent spender afflicted with a spell of conscience!

Now that I have finished the buildings and am thinking of writing an inscription for a tablet, why do I find it hard to say anything? Since I have not acted in accord with my former words, I cannot but be ashamed. If I speak I must admit my fault, yet I cannot avoid it. If the superior man has faults, he must acknowledge them, or he cannot stop others from accusing him.

I created the K'un Ming Lake to regulate the waters and to form the

¹⁹*Ho Shih Lu*, pp. 42, 43; *Jih Hsia*, vol. lxxvii.

²⁰*Ho Shih Lu*, p. 43; *Jih Hsia*, vol. lxxvii.

²¹*Jih Hsia*, vol. lxxvii.

canal. The hill was near the water and I changed its name to Wan Shou Shan. When I had this beautiful hill and this beautiful lake, how could I refrain from building the terraces and pavilions appropriate to them? Thus there is a reason for everything. Because of this I used my own private funds, and built firmly rather than elaborately, in accordance with the old ideas of the Yuan Ming Yuan. I did not dare to build more elegantly than that.

Although in my Record of the Yuan Ming Yuan I said that, since I already had the Yuan Ming Yuan, I ought not to spend the wealth of the people to build other gardens, have I not built another garden here and thus



THE BRONZE PAVILION ERECTED BY CH' IEN LUNG ON WAN SHOU SHAN

contradicted myself? Since the lake was here, I changed the name of the hill. Since the lake and the hill were here, I built the palaces. Although I say that I constructed the lake to regulate the waters, who will believe it?

The Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan has been given to the Aged Empress Dowager of the Eastern Palace. The Yuan Ming Yuan is used for transacting official business. The Ch'ing I Yuan²² and the Ching Ming Yuan²³ connected by a single river, are for the Emperor's leisure hours when he may stroll and rest his heart. Hsiao Ho said, "Let not the sons and grandsons excel their ancestors in spending money." Was this his meaning? Ssu-ma Kuang says that when a man is happy he thinks of his faults. I come to this garden after the hour of the dragon²⁴ and return before noon. I have never stayed here over night. This is my intention so perhaps men will pardon me.²⁵

²²At the Wan Shou Shan.

²³At the Jade Fountain.

²⁴From 7 to 9 a.m.

²⁵*Jih Hsia*, vol. lxxxiv.

DESCRIPTION OF THE GARDEN AT WAN SHOU SHAN

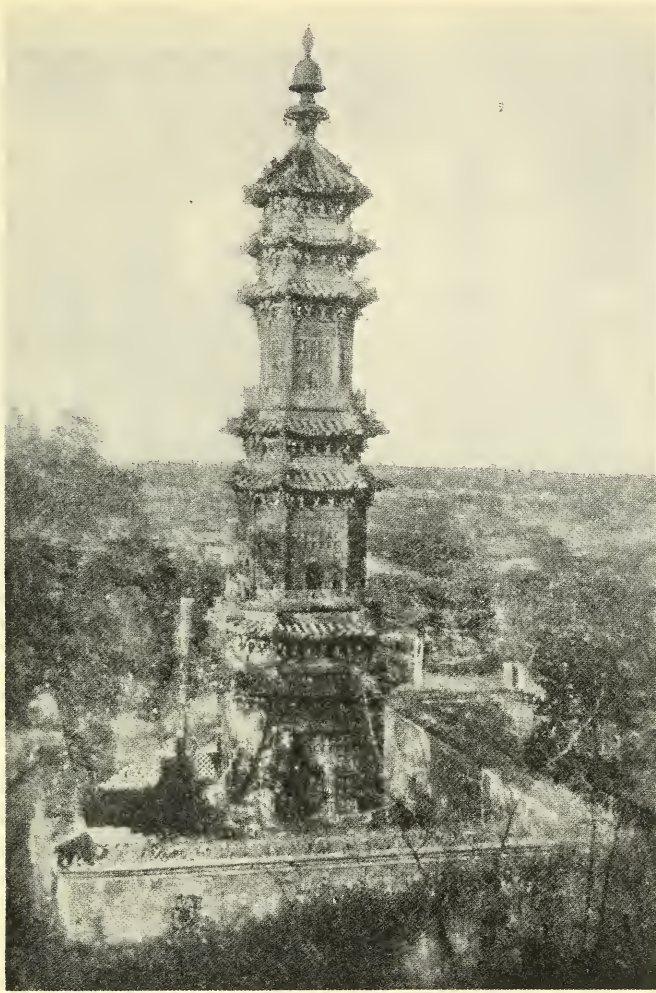
Although Ch'ien Lung claimed that the new garden which he had provided was not intended for a place of business or residence, he did build for it outer and inner gates, waiting rooms, inner courts, an audience hall, and residences behind these facing on the lake, all of which were arranged on plans similar to those of the Yuan Ming Yuan.²⁸ Beyond these buildings, however, a very different vista presented itself. Instead of being a collection of separate views like the Yuan Ming Yuan, most of the buildings of the Wan Shou Shan have a common center of interest around which they are grouped, namely the hill facing on the sparkling lake.

The temple erected for his mother's sixtieth birthday, the Ta Pao En Yen Shou Ssu, occupied the central place on the sunny slope of the hill facing on the lake. Here one splendid courtyard behind and above the other rose up to the large Fo Hsiang Ko, or Tower of Buddha's Incense, which occupied the high granite terrace near the top of the hill. On the very ridge of the hill, a glazed tile building decorated with a multitude of small images of Buddha rose to about the same height as the large pagoda. On the east side of the main temple courtyard stood the monument of the Wan Shou Shan and the K'un Ming Lake written by the Emperor. It was flanked by the wings of a temple building containing two huge prayer wheels, which was copied from the Fu Yün Ssu, a temple seen by the Emperor at Hangchow in 1757. On the west side stands the very remarkable Pao Yün Ko, or Precious Cloud Pavilion, made entirely of bronze. In form it resembles a wooden structure, but pillars, walls, windows, beams, roof tiles, and altar are of nothing but bronze. This was one of the birthday gifts for the Empress Dowager. Buddhist services were chanted here. Below it stood the Hall of the Five Hundred Lohans, built to celebrate the victories of Ch'ien Lung's armies in Ili.

At the water's edge in front of the central temple there stands a *pailou* at the top of the steps leading up from a barge landing. The whole north shore of the lake about a half mile long is faced with cut stone and a carved marble balustrade, with here and there steps leading to the barge landings. Just inside this balustrade both east and west of the central temple runs a covered porch open both to the wooded hillside with pavilions and dwellings set among the trees, and to the broad lake three or four miles in circumference, its surface broken here and there by water-fowl and lotus flowers. In 1751, we read there were 71 boats, large and

²⁸The chief sources for this description are the *Jih Hsia*, vol. lxxxiv, the *Ho Shih Lu*, which apparently depends largely on the *Jih Hsia*, some picture maps of the grounds and several personal visits to the grounds by the writer.

small, at this garden.²⁷ At the far west end of the long covered porch there stood in the water a stone barge.²⁸ The Emperor Ch'ien Lung wrote many poems on the delights of boating on the K'un Ming Lake, its lotus flowers, and moonlight.²⁹



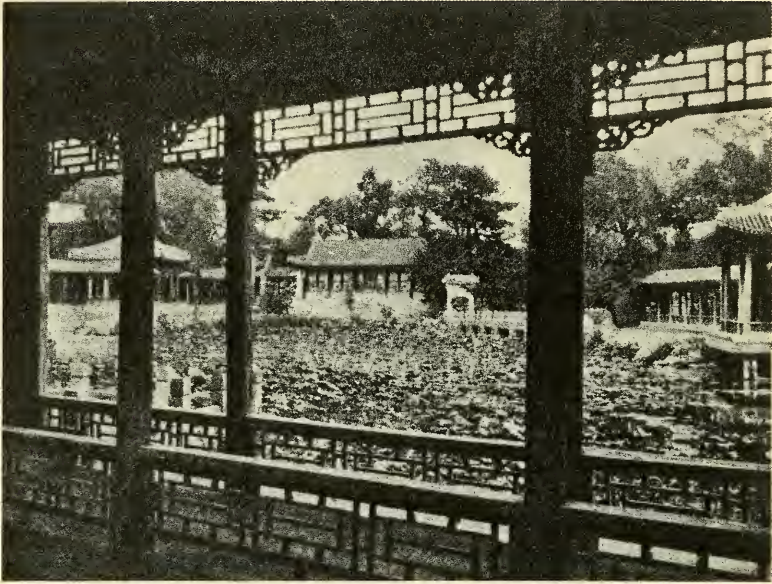
THE VERY PRECIOUS GLAZED TILE PAGODA BUILT BY CH'IENT LUNG ON
THE NORTH SLOPE OF WAN SHOU SHAN

²⁷*Ta Ch'ing Hui Tien*, Yuan Yu.

²⁸This was later, in the time of Tz'u Hsi, surmounted with a painted wooden framework in semi-foreign style, and is now called the Marble Boat.

²⁹*Yü Chih Shih*, Ch'ien Lung, third collection.

Near the stone boat the wide path skirting the foot of the hill turns northward. It passes on its way beautiful bridges, a temple on an island, a gate supporting a tall tower where the God of War was worshipped, then bending eastward, winds along among the peony beds beneath the tall trees on the north side of the hill.



HUI SHAN YUAN, OR GRACE MOUNTAIN GARDEN

Hui Shan Yuan was built by Ch'ien Lung. The name was later changed to Hsieh Ch'ü Yuan

The central feature on this shady slope of the hill, like that on the sunny slope, was a large temple. It faced northward across a marble bridge toward the High North Gate of the Wan Shou Shan Park. West of this bridge and near the canal stood a row of small shops, the Cloud Brush Hall for writing brushes, the Antique Shop, the Sign of the Blowing Mist for smokers' articles, a tea shop, and many others. They formed a little Soochow Street, not so extensive as the street of that name near the Wan Shou Ssu. It was put up in 1794 and the merchants were all eunuchs. But among all the temples, gateways, and other structures which adorned this hillside, none was finer than the Very Precious Glazed Tile Pagoda, which still stands there, fifty feet high, with seven roofs and elaborate decorations in tile of several colors.

At the foot of the east slope of the hill a little secluded garden, called the Hui Shan Yuan, or Grace Mountain Garden, was built by

Ch'ien Lung in 1754 according to the plan of an ancient garden at Wu Hsi, in Kiangsu Province. In 1760 he composed several poems on viewing the lotus here and on the eight scenes in this small garden.³⁰

The K'un Ming Lake which lies south of the Wan Shou Shan is almost four miles in circumference. It is bounded on the east by the strong high dike on which the east wall of the garden stands and which really forms the lake. Ch'ien Lung records that there was formerly a lake, called West Lake, lying east of the present east embankment of the K'un Ming Lake in a low place now used for lotus pools.³¹ In 1751 Ch'ien Lung repaired the tomb of the great statesman of the Yuan Dynasty, Yeh Lü Ch'u Ts'ai, which formerly faced on West Lake, but which is now found a little south of the main gate of the new summer palace.³² The east embankment extends for a mile along the east bank of the lake within the garden, and another mile along the canal south of the garden. A high gateway surmounted by a shrine to the God of Literature stands at the north end of the dike.

From about the middle of the east bank of the lake, where a large octagonal pavilion stands, a long magnificent bridge of seventeen arches springs out to the rocky island in the midst of the lake. In Ch'ien Lung's day there rose on the north side of this island a tower, built in imitation of the famous Yellow Crane Tower at Wu Ch'ang. It was used by Ch'ien Lung and his mother to view the fishing and hunting on the lake. The temple to the Dragon King on this island, the similar shrine at the Black Dragon Pool, repaired by Ch'ien Lung on the northwest edge of the summer palace region, and the Great Bell Temple, where Ch'ien Lung hung the Great Bell, constituted the three favorite shrines near Peking for praying for rain.

Near the octagonal pavilion at the east end of the Seventeen Arch Bridge, a life-sized bronze ox with an inscription on his back, but most natural in appearance, reclines on the east dike of the lake and gazes out across its waters. It was cast, according to the inscription, in 1755 by Ch'ien Lung to record the completion of his work on the lake, as the Great Yü recorded his successful regulation of the waters of the great flood on an iron ox. A stone monument nearby explains that the name of the lake itself comes from the K'un Ming Pool, southwest of Hsi An Fu, where the Great Yü often stopped his boat. According to the principles of *feng shui* the ox serves as a charm for quieting the waters.

Apparently, in Ch'ien Lung's day, the lake was not walled in as it was in the time of Tz'u Hsi, and one could see across the lake from this

³⁰*Jih Hsia*, vol. lxxxiv; *Yü Chih Shih*, Ch'ien Lung's third collection, vol. v, pp. 10-11 ff.

³¹*Ho Shih Lu*, p. 27.

³²*Jih Hsia*, vol. c.

point to a monument of agriculture and weaving put up by the Emperor close to the river from the Jade Fountain just beyond the present walls. This monument was intended to balance the bronze ox on the eastern bank of the lake and to suggest the well-known myth of the cowherd and



IMAGE OF YEH-LÜ CH'U-TS'AI

Erected at his tomb near the Wan Shou Shan by Emperor Ch'ien Lung, 1751. Yeh-Lü Ch'u-Ts'ai was Governor of Peking when it was captured by Genghis Khan in 1214. He became a great statesman of the Mongol Empire.

the weaving-girl. These were lovers who were doomed to be separated by the River of Heaven, as the Chinese call the Milky Way, and allowed to see each other only on the night of the seventh of the Seventh Moon.³³

³³The story is often told or referred to in Chinese poetry. Budd, *Chinese Poems*, pp. 50-51, 139-140; Cranmer-Byng, *A Lute of Jade*, pp. 70-72.

Near the south end of the K'un Ming Lake, over the canal which leads from the K'un Ming Lake off to Peking, the Hsiu I Ch'iao, or Bridge of the Embroidered Ripples, swings its high arch of carved white marble well above the imperial barges which pass beneath.

The west embankment of the K'un Ming Lake is, for the most part, a chain of long narrow islands connected by six bridges of various designs, one of which, the Jade Girdle Bridge, is similar to the Bridge



THE SEVENTEEN-ARCH BRIDGE AS SEEN FROM THE ISLAND

of the Embroidered Ripples. Beyond the west embankment there are lotus and rice fields and still more buildings. One of these was a three-storied tower surrounded by a double brick wall or citadel. The verses with which it was adorned indicate that it was built simply for the view it afforded of the surrounding landscape.

VAN BRAAM'S DESCRIPTION OF THE WAN SHOU SHAN

The panorama of the K'un Ming Lake and the surrounding palace grounds particularly delighted Van Braam, the Dutch-American, who, as a member of the embassy of the Dutch East India Company, was shown through these palace grounds in February, 1795, the last year of Ch'ien Lung's reign. The "favorite cabinet of the Emperor" from which he viewed the scene evidently stood on the east bank of the lake in about the same location as the private dwelling of the late Emperor

Kuang Hsü, not far from the Audience Hall. In the selection from his account, which follows, many features are noted which are seen from just the same position today, the island and the Seventeen Arch Bridge, the citadel beyond the west embankment and the Jade Girdle Bridge, the pagodas at the Jade Fountain, the temples and the rock grottoes on the Wan Shou Shan.

The mandarin ushered us into the favorite cabinet of the Emperor which bears the name of *Tien* (Heaven). It is indeed the most agreeable place of those that have been shown us; as well on account of its situation, as of the different views which it commands. Nothing can equal the prospect that the Emperor may enjoy when sitting in his arm chair, he turns his eyes towards a large window consisting of a single pane of glass—a prospect of which the reader will himself be able to form an idea from the sequel of this description. This cabinet is in a part of the building situated upon an extensive lake which washes its walls.

This lake was the first object that attracted our attention. In the midst of it is an island of considerable magnitude, on which are several buildings that have been erected that are dependencies of the imperial residence, and overshadowed by lofty trees. The island communicates with the adjacent continent by a noble bridge of seventeen arches, built of hewn stone, and standing on the eastern side.

Turning to the westward, the sight is gratified by the view of a lake smaller than the former, and only separated from it by a wide road. In the midst of it is a kind of citadel of a circular form, with a handsome edifice in its center. These two lakes communicate by a channel cut through the road that divides them, while a stone bridge of considerable height, and of a single arch, supplies the defect in the communication by land which that channel occasions.

Still further to the westward, and at a great distance, the eye is arrested by two towers standing on the tops of lofty mountains.

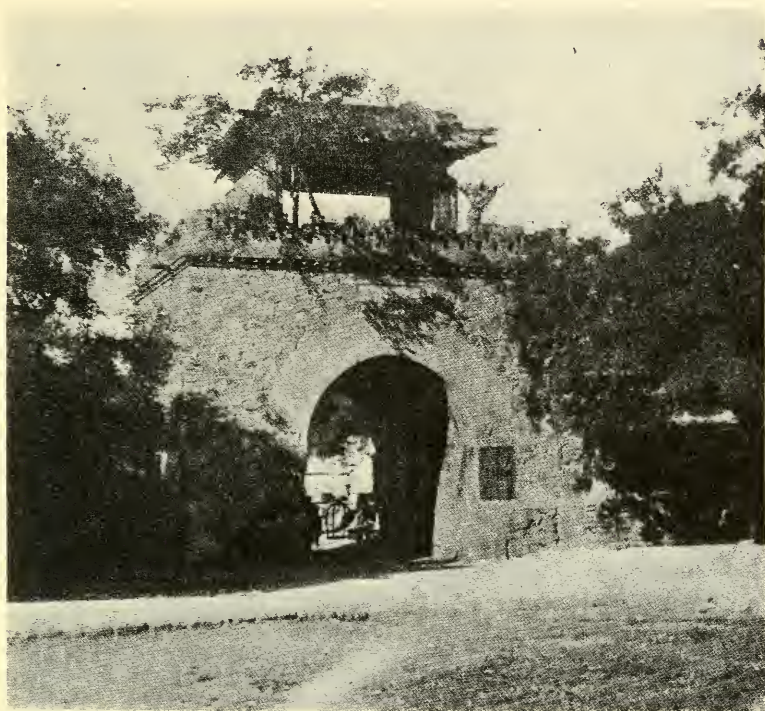
To the northwest stands a magnificent range of edifices belonging to temples, constructed at the foot, in the middle, and upon the summit of a mountain entirely formed by art, with fragments of natural rocks, which, independently of the existence of the buildings must have cost immense sums, since this kind of stone is only to be found at a great distance from the place. This work seems to represent the enterprize of the giants who attempted to scale the Heavens: at least rocks heaped upon rocks recall that ancient fiction to the mind. The assemblage of the buildings and picturesque embellishments of the mountains afford a view of which the pen can give no adequate idea. It is not then without reason that this cabinet is the favorite apartment of the aged monarch.

The inside of it is furnished with a library, and shelves on which are collected all the most valuable and scarce Chinese productions, consisting both of precious stones and antiques; and certainly they are highly deserving of the attention with which we examined them.

After having passed a considerable time in this building with real pleasure, we came to the south front, where we found a sled, which conveyed us towards the Temples that I have mentioned above.⁴

⁴Van Braam, *Embassy*, vol. ii, pp. 9-II.

Van Braam describes also several other parts of this garden for he was taken through the temples on both the south and north sides of the Wan Shou Shan, saw Peking from the summit, was led along the little paths neatly paved with pebbles and overshadowed with tall trees on the north side of the hill, saw, beside a stream, shops for tradespeople which evidently were the Soochow Street, and finally left the palace grounds by a convenient north gate.



STONE GATEWAY EAST OF THE GREEN DRAGON BRIDGE

THE GREEN DRAGON BRIDGE

Just outside the walls of the Wan Shou Shan garden on the northwest the Green Dragon Bridge crosses the stream where a dam dating from the time of Kublai Khan holds back the waters of the Jade Fountain from flowing into the Ch'ing River, and thus forms the K'un Ming Lake and furnishes water for the canal to Peking. Beside the granite road at the east end of this bridge Ch'ien Lung built a row of shops, some of which are still in use today. The picturesque stone gateway, which marks the east end of this street, and can be seen from within the palace

grounds, is one of the best illustrations of the way in which this emperor would build a landscape, as his artists might paint one, and then write a poetic title on his completed picture. There seems to be no other reason for placing this gate at this place, for there is no wall about the town, no gate at the other end of it, and, as there are several other roads around the town, it would not be a good toll gate or barrier against marauders. The verses over the gate are significant of the Emperor's thought of the landscape. The one facing east reads, *Shan Kuan Hai Yin*, meaning literally, Mountain Lodge Encircling Wall, and perhaps referring to the fact that the arch of the gateway encircles a view of the town and mountains. The one on the western face of the gate reads, *Hu Ch'iao Lieh Shih*, and may be translated, A Lake, a Bridge, and an Orderly Market.³⁵

THE JADE FOUNTAIN

The park at the Jade Fountain which had been built by Emperor K'ang Hsi was visited, enjoyed, and cared for by Emperor Ch'ien Lung several years before he began to build at the Wan Shou Shan. Many of his early poems sing the praises of this lovely spot. One which he wrote in the summer of 1743 illustrates not only the Emperor's appreciation of the natural beauty of the landscape in which the nearby colors are brought out more vividly by the misty background of gray, but also the moralizing turn which emperors so generally assume, and lastly, the parallelism in the thought of the couplets. The metrical parallelism cannot be rendered in English.

Thin clouds connect the stony mountain ridges.

Fine rain mingles with the mist from the rills.

We would wash away our mundane thoughts and penetrate the secrets of reality.

We would quiet our hearts and listen to the Fountain of Jade.

The flowers are fragrant and reflect their redness on the temple walls.

The trees are quiet and drop their greenness on our dining tables.

As each object becomes seriously attentive,

We would together turn to literary meditation.³⁶

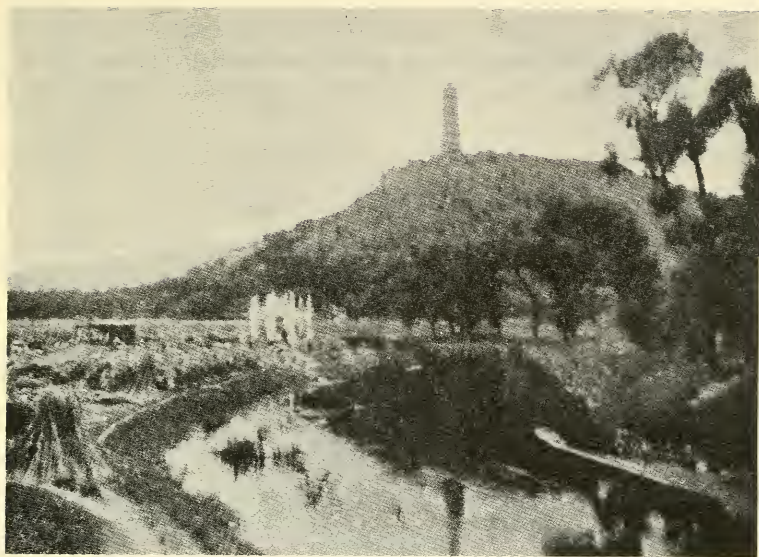
His admiration for this garden is shown by the fact that he strove to keep it in order and to beautify it. By 1747 he had more than a hundred gardeners here.³⁷ But beyond the large temples on the western slope of the hill, he probably did not do much building. Close by the great Jade Spring he put up in 1751 a marble tablet in which he called it "the First Spring under the Heavens."³⁸ In his record of the Ch'ing I Yuan,

³⁵*Hung Hsueh Yin Yuan*, vol. iii, part 2, p. 4.

³⁶*Yü Chih Shih*, Ch'ien Lung, first collection, vol. xiv.

³⁷*Ta Ch'ing Hui Tien*.

³⁸*Jih Hsia*, vol. xxii; *ibid.*, vol. lxxxiv.



JADE FOUNTAIN HILL

The photograph also shows the stream from the Jade Fountain,
flowing toward New Summer Palace.



THE JADE FOUNTAIN HILL AS SEEN FROM THE NORTH SIDE OF THE WAN SHOU SHAN

his Garden of the Clear Ripple at the Wan Shou Shan, he refers to this Garden at the Jade Fountain, the Ching Ming Yuan, or Quiet Bright Garden, and the river connecting it with the other garden as a place where he liked to stroll and rest his heart in his leisure hours. His many poems prove this.

THE HSIANG SHAN PARK

At the Hsiang Shan where K'ang Hsi had a wayside lodge, Ch'ien Lung created a more elaborate imperial garden. He first visited the



VIEW FROM THE CLIFFS IN THE HSIANG SHAN PARK

The photograph shows the former palace and temple buildings in the grove below, Manchu garrison villages on the plain, and the Jade Fountain Hill, the Wan Shou Shan, and the K'un Ming Lake in the distance.

grounds in 1743 and came often after that. Noticing the way in which the Imperial Body-guard and the drivers and carriers had to wipe away with their hands the sweat or rain or dust, and arrived at the Hsiang Shan tired and thirsty, he decided to build better accommodations for them. He built also an audience hall, named Ch'in Cheng Tien, after the smaller hall at Yuan Ming Yuan, and in the same year stocked the park with tame deer. In his record of the establishment of his garden he praises the wide view of the plain which is obtained from the rugged cliffs of this park and which constitute its chief charm.

Dwelling on this mountain one can see spread out before his gaze the distant villages, the smooth fields, the farmers planting and cultivating their crops, and others bringing food to the workers, some cutting the millet and others gathering it in. By the apricot blossoms or the leaves of the sweet flag one can tell the season of the year. All the processes are represented . . .

He concluded with a bit of religious philosophy above the commonplace. "I think that Heaven makes these beautiful things and waits for the calm man to find them."

Twenty-eight separate spots of interest were listed and described in the official record of the garden.³⁹ These included the audience hall, mentioned above, the old Hsiang Shan Temple, other shrines which had been



VIEW THROUGH THE WHITE-BARKED PINES IN THE HSIANG SHAN PARK,
LOOKING TOWARD THE PLAIN

rebuilt repeatedly in the past, a great number of scenic spots under the old trees, and the finest bits of rugged scenery found in any of the imperial parts of the summer palace region. Descriptive poems on these twenty-eight scenes were composed by the Emperor in 1745.⁴⁰

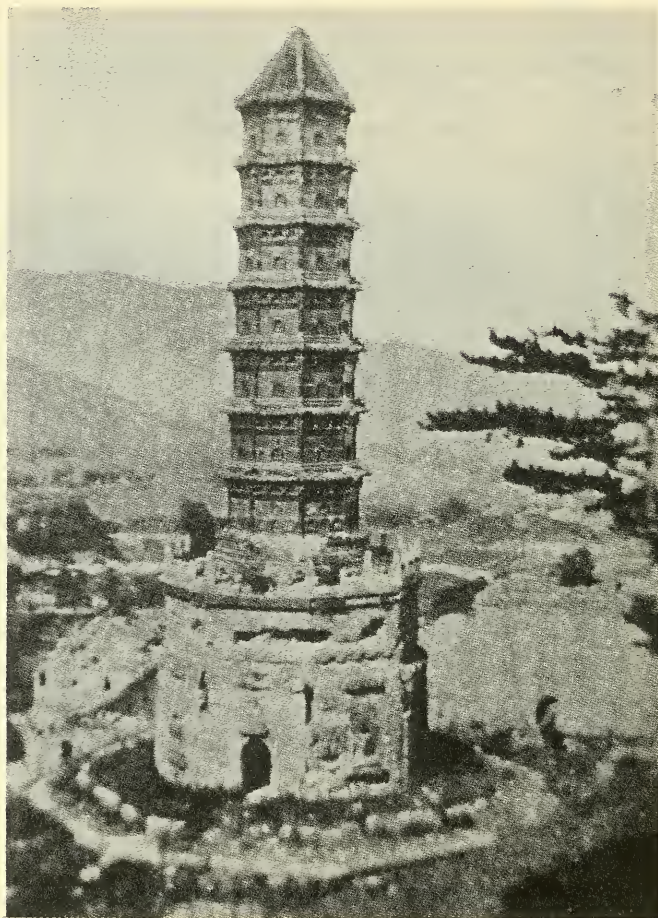
In the northern section of the park the Emperor built in 1780 a Tibetan temple, like one built at Jehol, for the Panshen Lama. A beautiful glazed tile *pailou*, ornamented with bright colors, stood before the en-

³⁹*Jih Hsia*, vol. lxxxvii.

⁴⁰*Yü Chih Shih*, Ch'ien Lung, first collection, vol. xxx, pp. 18-32.

trance in a massive red wall within which stood the temple proper.⁴¹ A pagoda of glazed tile stood on the hillside behind the great red wall.

In 1748 Ch'ien Lung erected the great marble terrace which rises in a grove of white-barked pine trees in the Pi Yün Ssu, or Green Cloud Temple, immediately beyond the north wall of the Hsiang Shan.



GLAZED TILE PAGODA ON THE HILL BEHIND THE TIBETAN TEMPLE
AT HSIANG SHAN

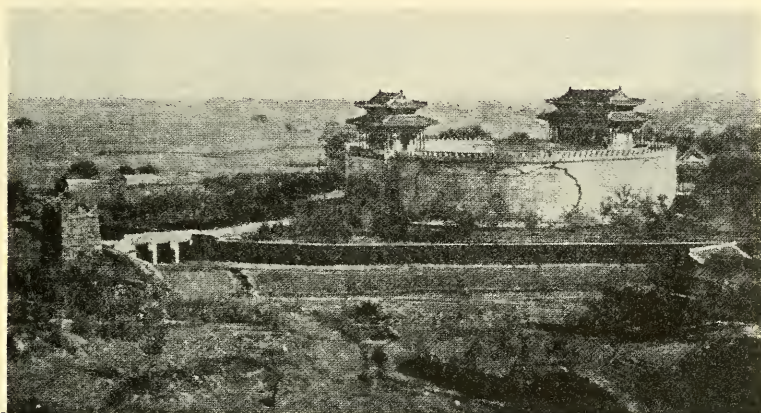
THE GARRISONS NEAR HSIANG SHAN

In the year 1748 the troops of Ch'ien Lung were fighting a difficult campaign against the Tibetans on the Golden River now in western

⁴¹Ch'ien Lung built a similar *pailou* before the Wo Fo Ssu.

Szechuan and Yünnan. Their Tibetan enemies built many stone towers on the mountain sides which the Chinese captured with great difficulty while the Tibetans easily built more. The Chinese forces tried building towers to oppose the Tibetans, but this plan of campaign was not very efficient either. According to the Emperor's own narrative of the campaign, it was he himself who hit upon the solution of the problem:

Then I saw in reading the history of our dynasty that when our forces entered China the Bannermen could make human ladders by climbing up on their fellows and thus scale city walls. Such men were numberless. If we had still had them, no stone towers could have stopped us. Yet our present



THE T'UAN CH'ENG, OR CIRCULAR WALL, NEAR THE TEMPLE OF TRUE VICTORY

men are the same as those of old, and so I commanded that they have stone towers built and select agile men to practice these tactics. In two months a thousand men had mastered the method under the command of General Fu Heng, and then many other troops were brought to see and learn it. This was a blessing from Heaven and its accomplishment is due also to the ability of my officers and men. When the enemy realized our skill and believed that they would be well treated, they made peace and the campaign ended.

But my soldiers had not exhausted their skill when the peace was made, nor did I want them to forget these ancient tactics. Hence I commanded that they should continue their drill even though their work was done and the Golden River had been pacified, and that materials be collected and an auspicious date be set for beginning the erection of a temple and towers in their honor. This temple I have named Shih Sheng Ssu, or Temple of True Victory. These skillful soldiers should not be disbanded either, so I have built for them the Chien Jui Garrisons on both sides of the Temple of True Victory.

When my ancestor, Emperor T'ai Tsung, with part of his army defeated 130,000 troops of the Ming Dynasty at Sung Shan and at Hsing Shan, he built the Temple of True Victory at Mukden in honor of his success. Although my victory on the Golden River was only the defeat of minor rebels not to be



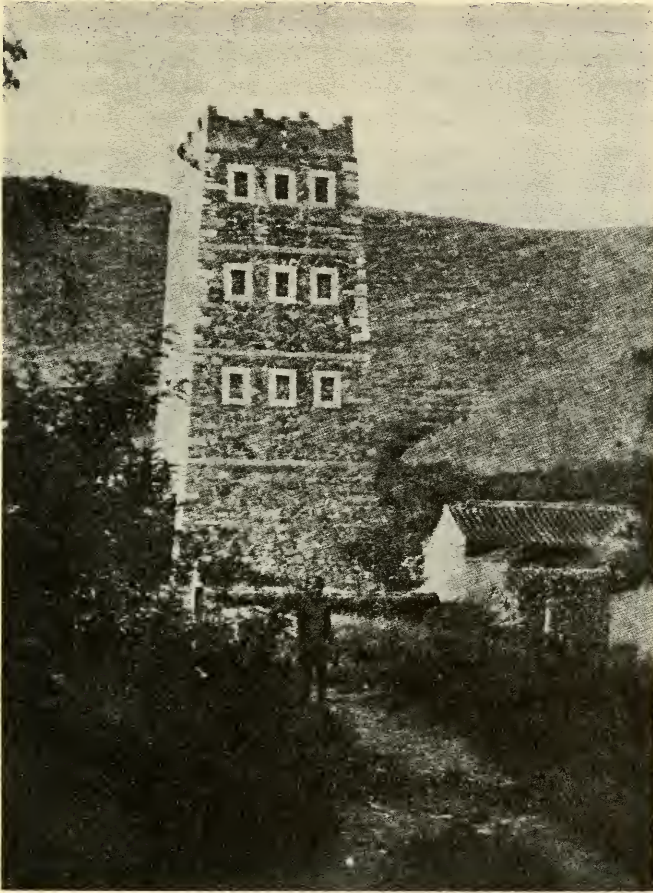
THE FENG SHUI WALL

The broken wall of the ruined graveyard shows in the right foreground.



HEADQUARTERS OF THE CHIEN JUI GARRISONS NEAR HSIANG SHAN

compared with the armies of the Ming Dynasty, like a small pool receiving the waters from the K'un Ming Lake, yet it was a victory not to be forgotten.⁴²



WATCH TOWER BUILT BY TIBETAN PRISONERS

The Temple of True Victory was built on the hillside close to the south wall of the Hsiang Shan, in 1749. This inscription was carved on a huge marble block $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet square and 11 feet high with pedestal and capital besides. Over the whole tablet was erected a pavilion which faced eastward on the drill ground before the temple. A circular brick wall called T'uan Ch'eng, similar in height to the wall of Peking, was erected at the north end of the drill ground, a tall gateway which could also be

⁴²From the monument at the Temple of True Victory, quoted in the *Jih Hsia*. Similar statements are made in the *Ta Ch'ing Hui Tien*, sec. 1168.

used as a reviewing stand on the west, and at the southeast corner a most peculiar red wall, through the gates of which the cavalry are said to have charged upon the drill ground. The round wall was apparently used by the troops for practice in scaling city walls. In a side building the writer has seen some of the heavy scaling ladders and poles which were used to push them up the side of the wall.⁴³ The strange red wall at the southeast with its five gates, seven odd towers and battlements askew, is said by the people in the neighborhood to have been built by Ch'ien Lung to spoil the *feng shui* of the graveyard which it partly surrounds on the west and north. The ruinous condition of the graveyard at present would indicate that the evil spell has worked.



WATCH TOWERS IN THE CHIEN JUI GARRISONS NEAR WO FO SSU

Over a low spur of the mountain a little north of the Temple of True Victory, and not far from the gate of the Hsiang Shan Park, stands a square stone wall with four corner towers. This was the headquarters of these crack troops whose garrison villages were located along the foot of the hills almost two miles east and almost two miles south from the Hsiang Shan. These were the Eight Banners of the Chien Jui Garrisons, a name which means active and keen.⁴⁴ In these villages lived 1000, later increased to 2000, soldiers with their families, besides the officers. These troops had to be versatile. Their drills included scaling walls with the "cloud ladders," archery both on foot and on horseback, shooting with "bird guns," or muskets, riding fast horses, mounting horses on the run, handling iron bludgeons, rowing and fighting on the water. They practiced, as noticed above, at the K'un Ming Lake. They also had to furnish a certain number of guards at the Hsiang Shan Park and at certain other places when the Emperor traveled back and forth between his palaces or went to the South Hunting Park, or to the Eastern Tombs.⁴⁵

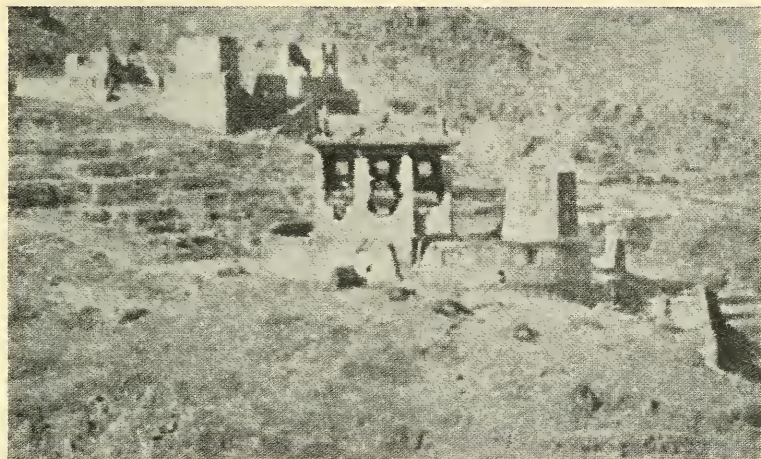
Besides the veteran Manchu Bannerman from the campaigns on the Golden River, a group of 81 Tibetan prisoners were brought from T'u

⁴³This drill field is now used by a horticultural experiment station.

⁴⁴Beltchenko and Moran, *Present Day Political Organization of China*, sec. 733, 738.

⁴⁵*Ta Ch'ing Hui Tien*, sec. 1168.

Ssu, Yünnan, and settled in a village higher on the hillside behind the Temple of True Victory. These prisoners knew how to build the stone towers which had been such an obstacle to the Chinese and Manchu troops and when they first came to this region built such towers for their own homes, until they were given garrison houses like the troops. Here on the hillsides of their new home and among the garrisons of the Chien Jui Bannermen they continued to erect these towers in the manner of the



THE SQUARE TEMPLE AND THE ROUND TEMPLE

Tibetan marches. Some of them were solid masonry filled with earth or stone built only to improve the *feng shui* and the landscape. Others had rooms inside and ladders going up to a height of three or four stories, two being five stories high. They built altogether 68 of them as constant reminders of the victories of the Manchu Bannermen on the Tibetan frontier. They give a martial aspect to the neighborhood.⁴⁶

The Yuan Chao and Fang Chao, Square Temple and Round Temple, on the hillside about a mile south of Hsiang Shan seem to have combined foundation and towers in the Tibetan style with roofs in the Chinese manner.

One of the most pleasing of all Ch'ien Lung's creations was built by him in 1715. It is a hall still standing intact in a grove of white-barked pines on the main road about a mile south of Hsiang Shan. The pillars of the hall are of grayish white marble which blends remarkably with the mottled gray and white bark of the trees. The building contains a marble floor, a throne of Ch'ien Lung, and a marble inscription by him.

⁴⁶From conversation with the descendants of the Tibetans. Cf. also *Ta Ch'ing Hui Tien*, Kung Pu, Ying Fang.

Beside the temples already mentioned, five other important temples were built by Ch'ien Lung near the Temple of True Victory. One of these, said to have been called San T'ai Shan, meaning Mount of the Three Terraces, was built by the Emperor because his aged but energetic



THE WHITE MARBLE PAVILION IN THE GROVE OF WHITE-BARKED PINES

mother wanted to make a long pilgrimage to the famous Wu T'ai Shan, or Mount of Five Terraces, in Northern Shansi, and he wished to suggest this as a suitable substitute.

The training of these picked troops of the Chien Jui Garrisons was not in vain. They were used in the distant campaigns in Mongolia and Chinese Turkestan a few years later and gave such a good account of themselves that the Emperor erected another tablet at the Temple of True Victory, in 1761. In it he says:

With the protection of Heaven and the blessing of my ancestors I have pacified Dzungar, the Mohammedan country, Ili, Kashgar, and Yarkand, one after the other, at a distance of 20,000 *li*. . . . This monument is to commemorate the conduct of the men of the Chien Jui Cloud Ladder Garrisons, near this temple, many of whom fought in this campaign. . . . At the battle at Hu Er Men and at Huo Ssu K'u Lu Ke a few tens of our men were greatly outnumbered by the rebels. While they were consulting, and their drums were beating faintly, and their flags were out of place, they suddenly reordered their ranks like a wall, steadily advanced, killed the enemy's commander and captured his flags. When my men can do that, even the cavalry of So Lun, excellent archers and horsemen, who advance and retire at will and spoil the

plans of their enemies without being beaten themselves, cannot equal the cool courage of my Bannermen. A Bannerman would not fear if he were the last man alive in ten thousand fighting for his country. I had not thought it was possible that between the years 1749 and 1761 these garrisons could have so repaid the Emperor's kindness. This must be a gift from Heaven.



MANCHU BANNER TROOPS DRILL WITH MUSKETS AND GINGALS

(A fragment of a picture made by the officer Jung Hua)

The men in the front row are in the act of firing. The flags carried in the next row designate the different "banners" to which the groups belong. The commanding officer is on the right accompanied by a flag-bearer, drummer, gong beater, and conch-shell trumpeters.

OTHER MANCHU GARRISONS

Another garrison of Manchu soldiers was founded by Ch'ien Lung in 1770 just west of the canal and south of the K'un Ming Lake. The troops settled here belonged to the Division of Artillery and Musketry⁴⁷ and are called locally Wai Huo Ch'i Ying, or Outside Fire Arms Garrison. It was a division which had been established by K'ang Hsi in 1686 and up to this time had had its headquarters in Peking.

Ch'ien Lung was also interested in the garrisons at the Yuan Ming Yuan. He increased their forces, and reformed their schools so that the children should learn Manchu, for he found that they were already neglecting that language. The tendency which was noticeable in Ch'ien Lung's day has since then resulted in the almost complete disappearance of the Manchu language. There is today only one man in the Plain Blue Banner Garrison who can still read Manchu, and the writer has been told that in some of the other garrisons there are none. So China has often absorbed her conquerors.

⁴⁷Beltchenko and Moran, *Present Day Political Organization of China*, sec. 733-37.

CHAPTER VI

EUROPEAN INFLUENCES IN CH'IENT LUNG'S TIME

DESCRIPTIONS BY THE JESUITS

Of several accounts of the Yuan Ming Yuan written by Jesuits at the court of Ch'ien Lung, the enthusiastic letter written by the artist Attiret from Peking, in 1743, was most widely circulated in Europe and most often discussed and quoted.¹ After speaking of the little hills and valleys with their buildings, gardens, and waterfalls, and of the many canals and lakes with their magnificent boats, he says:

One leaves a valley by zig-zag and circuitous paths which are themselves ornamented with little pavilions and little grottoes, and on leaving one, he finds himself in a second valley entirely different from the former in the form of the land and the structure of the buildings.

All the mountains and hills are covered with trees, especially with flowering trees which are very common here. It is a veritable paradise on earth. The canals are not at all, as they are in our country, edged with faced stone, but very rustic, with some pieces of rock projecting and others receding, laid with so much skill that one would say that it was the work of nature. Now the canal is wide, now narrow, here it winds, there it bends, as if truly deflected by the hills and rocks. The shores are planted with flowers which grow from rockeries and seem to be there by the work of nature. Each season has its own kinds. Besides the canals there are many roads, or rather paths, which are paved with little stones, and which lead from one valley to another. The paths are winding, sometimes following the canals and sometimes leading away from them.

When one enters a valley he sees the buildings. The whole facade is formed of columns and windows, the framework gilded, painted, and varnished, the walls of gray brick well cut and well polished. The roofs are covered with glazed tile, red, yellow, blue, green, and violet, which by their combination and arrangement make a pleasing variety in spacing and design. Most of these buildings have only one floor, but they are raised two, four, six, or eight feet above the level of the ground. Some have one story above the ground floor. These are reached not by stone steps fashioned by art, but by steps made by nature. Nothing so much resembles the fabulous palace of the fairie, which is supposed to be in the midst of the desert, raised on a rock to which the approach is rugged and has a thousand turns.

He says of the interiors that they correspond to the outside in magnificence, and that they contain expensive vases of marble, porcelain, and copper, filled with flowers. He also notes one important way in which

¹*Lettres édifiantes*, vol. xxvii, edition of 1749, pp. 1-61. Quoted also in Favier, *Peking*, vol. ii, pp. 377-81, and Combaz, pp. 112-21.

Chinese art differs from the European, that is, that instead of immodest statues placed in front of buildings the Chinese place on pedestals bronze figures of symbolical animals or urns for burning incense.

Each valley has its pleasure palace, small in relation to the whole enclosure, but in itself sufficient to lodge the greatest of our European lords with all his retinue.

Many of these houses are built of cedar wood, which is brought at great expense from a distance of five hundred leagues. But how many of these palaces do you think there are in the different valleys of this vast park? There are more than two hundred² without counting the houses for the eunuchs.

He goes on to speak of the various kinds of bridges, of marble balustrades, of the pavilions, and of *pailous*, which he calls "arcs de triomphe," and of the lakes. He admired especially a large one which had a diameter of "almost half a league," and is called a sea, by which he evidently means the Fu Hai, or Happy Sea.

But the real jewel is an isle of rock, rugged and wild, which rises in the middle of this sea about six feet above the level of the water. On this rock is built a palace, where more than a hundred rooms and halls are counted. It has four sides and it has a beauty and style which I cannot describe.

Attiret then describes the delightful view from this island and the surrounding shores of the lake.³

The shores of this basin are infinitely varied; no place resembles any other. Some of the quays are of cut stone and some of rough rocks. Some buildings are elevated on terraces while others are in secluded amphitheatres. A mass of trees and flowers present themselves to view in one place, while in another one finds a clump of wild trees, which he would expect to find only on a desert mountain. There are forest trees, timber trees, strange trees, flowering trees and fruit trees.

There are also found on the shores of this same lake a number of cages and pavilions, some on the water and some on the land, for all sorts of aquatic birds; as on the land one finds from time to time little menageries and little hunting parks. There are several reservoirs in the park where gold fish and fish of many other colors are kept, but the largest of all is at this lake where the fish are confined by a net of fine copper wire.

But to make you really appreciate the full beauty of this place I would have to be able to transport you hither when the lake is covered with gilded and lacquered barges, for a promenade, for fishing, for a combat, a fight or other sports, but especially on a beautiful night when fireworks are playing,

²Attiret may be thinking here, not of the groups of buildings which are found in each valley, and of which there were only about forty in the Yuan Ming Yuan proper, in his time, but of the separate halls, several of which were found in each group. Or, he may have been counting the dwellings in the other parks, the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan, and the other groups at the Jade Fountain and Hsiang Shan. This was before Ch'ien Lung's extensive building at the Wan Shou Shan. As a matter of fact, he has a tendency to exaggeration.

³The location of these is shown on the Sketch Map, Numbers Thirty to Thirty-seven, p. 52.

when all the palaces are illuminated, all the barges, almost all the trees; for in illuminations and in fireworks the Chinese leave us far behind them. The few that I have seen infinitely surpass everything that I have seen of that sort in Italy and in France.

Of the Emperor's private apartments, which he locates unmistakably on an island behind the Main Audience Hall and calls a *seraglio*, he says:

It is in the apartments which form this palace that there are to be seen all that can be imagined which is most beautiful, furniture, ornaments, paintings—I mean in the Chinese taste—precious woods, lacquer of Japan and of China, antique vases, porcelain, silks, and cloth of gold and silver. Here has been brought together everything which art and good taste can add to the riches of nature.⁴

Attiret also describes the little city wall and market town near the center of the garden and the fair which the eunuchs arranged here for the amusement of the Emperor and his court ladies, none of whom could go into the world as ordinary persons to make purchases in the shops.⁵ All the things which were needed were obtained by the eunuchs. Even the Emperor who might leave his palace frequently, was a slave of his greatness and could not mingle with common men except in this way. But here in his own private gardens he could have the eunuchs act out the affairs of the world of common men in a most entertaining way. Here were built streets, squares, temples, halls, markets, shops, courtrooms, palaces, and even a harbor where the eunuchs impersonated all classes and occupations, and where the members of the court could roam about at will.

A more recent account of this fair in Ch'ien Lung's time says:

At the New Year he used to have booths erected along the main road of the garden, and there organized a market fair for the amusement of the court. There were curio and porcelain stores, embroidery shops, dealers in silks, as well as restaurants, wine taverns, and tea houses. Even peddlers and hawkers were allowed to come and ply their trade. . . . High officials and their wives were admitted to this fair, and allowed to make purchases, or to order food or tea at the restaurants just as they pleased. As His Majesty passed down the line of booths, the waiters would shout out their menus for the day, the hawkers would cry out their goods, and the clerks would be busy calling out the figures which they were entering on the day books. The bustle and animation of the scene used to delight the Emperor.⁶

But Attiret says that the Emperor held this fair several times a year, that he seldom admitted to his palace grounds either princes or other great

⁴Attiret's description probably applies only to Number Three on the Sketch Map, p. 52.

⁵This city wall, he seems to say, is a quarter of a league square. A quarter of a mile is too much. The street where the shops were located was outside the city wall, as though it were in the suburbs. His estimate would not be so far wrong if that were included. See p. 94.

⁶Backhouse and Bland, *Annals*, pp. 335-36.

officials, and that when they came the women had to retire. He also adds the facts that the sales were genuine, that the goods were entrusted to the eunuchs by the merchants of Peking, and that the Emperor, the ladies, and the eunuchs actually bought a good deal, thus giving a real zest to the hubbub. In other parts of the grounds there were fields where the inmates of the palace could see the actual operations and hard labor of farming.

Wide circulation was given to this letter of Attiret's in Europe for it arrived at the period when Europe was most interested in the strange land from which she was importing porcelain, silk, lacquer, furniture, and wall-paper. These luxuries were popular in the rococo period of the 18th century when Europe was copying Chinese models, and learning to produce for herself these and other Chinese luxuries, such as sedan-chairs.⁷

Le Comte, a missionary who had previously written on the subject of Chinese palaces, had criticized them because the apartments were not symmetrically disposed one behind the other. He had objected to the absence of regularity in the decorations, and found "nothing of the harmonious arrangement which gives to our palaces their pleasing and commodious character." He had found an unshapeliness "which is displeasing to Europeans and which must be distressing to all who have a feeling for good architecture." But he had left Europe when the formalism of the Louis XIV style was at its height.⁸

Attiret a few years later was in the grip of a new feeling for style which arose with the rococo period, following that of Louis XIV. He was not judging art and architecture solely by the established canons previously set up, but from the standpoint of the picturesque, and Chinese buildings, conceived of as fitting into the landscape, added to the picturesqueness of nature. He says:

With us uniformity and symmetry are everywhere demanded. Nothing is tolerated which is the least bit out of its place; one part must be balanced by a corresponding feature on the other side. In the great variety and multiplicity which the Chinese give to their buildings, I admire the fertility of their genius. Indeed, I am tempted to believe that, in comparison with them, we are poor and sterile.

Attiret was thus, perhaps unconsciously, expressing the feeling of the new age which was revolting against the excessive formalism of the past and seeking a return to nature.

The new style in *gardens* which superseded that of Louis XIV was known in Europe as the English style. It had been deeply influenced by

⁷Reichwein, *China and Europe*, pp. 25-72; also Combaz, p. 158.

⁸Quoted by Reichwein, p. 56.

the Chinese. As early as 1712 Addison had written: "The Chinese ridicule our plantations, which are laid out by the rule and line; because they say any one may place trees in equal rows and uniform figures. They choose rather . . . to conceal the art by which they direct themselves." Sir William Chambers, architect to the King of England, was the first to make Chinese gardens known in Europe. He wrote *A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening*, in which he refers to the example of the Yuan Ming Yuan gardens, and in 1750-1757 he constructed at Kew for the Duke of Kent the first example in England of a Chinese garden. It contained a pagoda and other examples of exotic architecture. The style became known as Chinese-English. The idea spread to France and Germany where many examples were constructed. This Chinese-English style meant that natural curves displaced geometric lines, that streams were given a winding course, that high ground could be preserved, and that turf should be cultivated instead of sandy open spaces. Yet along with these features which are accepted among the sound principles of the present, there were other features such as Chinese pagodas, fantastic rockeries, and even bizarre combinations of European and Chinese designs, which, however contrary to present ideas of good taste, unmistakably point to the Chinese origin of the new style.⁹

It is clear that Attiret's enthusiastic description of the gardens at the Yuan Ming Yuan had a part in this movement, for it is said that all the treatises, which appeared in connection with the fashion for Chinese gardens, referred to it. Chambers referred to the gardens at the Yuan Ming Yuan as examples of his ideals.¹⁰ It is even said that "Louis II of Bavaria contemplated a reproduction of the Summer Palace. In the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris are still to be seen forty representations of the Palace on tafeta, which the king caused to be made for him. But his plan never got further than this."¹¹

THE FOREIGN BUILDINGS AT THE YUAN MING YUAN

It is interesting to note that at the very time when Chinese landscape gardening and architecture were being copied in Europe so enthusiastically, the Emperor of China was building in his summer palace grounds a set of European buildings and surrounding them with the old-fashioned formal gardens which Europe was giving up. If the Jesuits had been an important factor in introducing the Chinese ideas of gardening into Europe, they were also responsible for the whim of Ch'ien Lung to erect some examples of European architecture in a remote corner of his villa.

⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 113-26.

¹⁰Chambers, *A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening*.

¹¹Reichwein, *China and Europe*, p. 59, quoting from Cordier's *La Chine en France au XVIII^e siècle*, p. 84.

In 1775 a missionary in Peking, writing an account of the life of Father Benoit, tells how the idea originated and of the large part which Father Benoit had in it.¹²

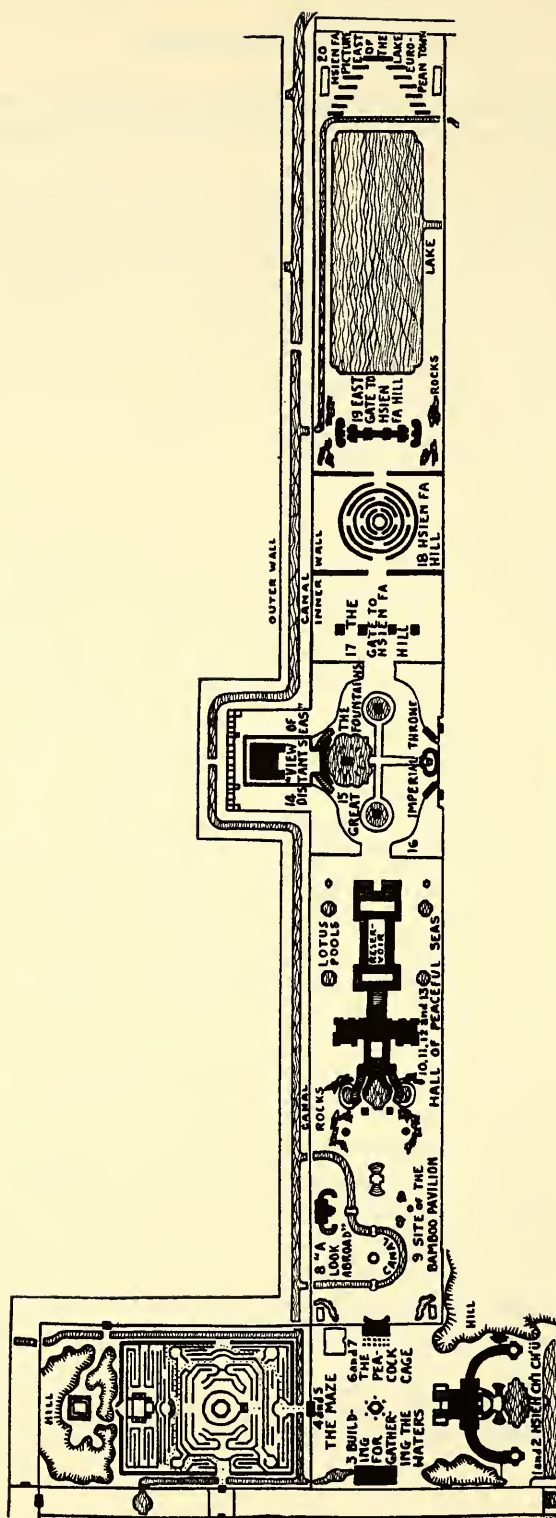
The reigning emperor, a prince of genius, eager for knowledge, having seen in 1747 the picture of a fountain, asked Father Castiglione for the explanation of it, and if there was at court any European in a position to have one made similar to it. This missionary artist, whose modesty has made his talents so illustrious, realized the consequences of a positive reply and prudently limited himself by saying to His Majesty that he would immediately go and make inquiries in all the churches. But the Emperor had scarcely retired when a eunuch came and said that if there was any European in a position to understand a fountain he was to take him the next day to the palace. These last words in the language of the court were an order to find someone at any cost. No missionary had any doubt about it, and all eyes were turned upon Father Benoit.

In his studies in Europe Father Benoit had had some experience with hydraulic machines before he had transferred his attention to mathematics and astronomy as more useful for service at the court of China. He was thus able to make a model of a fountain which delighted the Emperor so much that he had it carried into his apartment to examine it at his leisure. "As a result he resolved to build a European palace, chose the situation in his gardens, and ordered Brother Castiglione to draw a plan of it in conjunction with Father Benoit." Father Benoit's task was to plan the fountains and then oversee the construction by workmen whom he had to train painstakingly for the work. When it was necessary to enter the palace grounds to attend to the digging of the basins for the water and the building of the "water castles" ancient customs required that he might enter the palace only at certain times, and he went there only when conducted by a numerous escort of mandarins, eunuchs, and footmen, and remained as short a time as possible. When the Emperor came to ask questions about the work and found that no one but Father Benoit could answer them, he gave orders that set the Father free from these restrictions and left him to come and go as he wished. This distinction was later extended to all the other Europeans. The hydraulic machine and the first fountain were finished at the end of autumn. It was a great event at court and the fountain was so successful that Benoit had to build still more. For twelve years he seems to have been engaged in constructing fountains, both at the Yuan Ming Yuan and at the palace in the city.

The architectural plans for these palaces were the work of the famous Italian Jesuit artist, Castiglione.¹³

¹²*Lettres édifiantes*, vol. xxiv, edition of 1781, pp. 401 ff.

¹³Cf. chap. iv above, where Castiglione is mentioned several times. Favier, *Peking*, pp. 377-81; Ferguson, *Chinese Painting*, pp. 179-80.



These buildings occupied a narrow strip across the northern side of the Garden of Long Spring, shown on page 99. The numbers and names in this plan correspond to those of the Twenty Engravings described on pages 141-160.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FOREIGN BUILDINGS

The rococo architecture of these palace buildings recalls the extravagances of Italian art at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century as seen in the work of Borromini, Guarini, and Bibiena.¹⁴ It is a style which differs almost as widely from present ideas of good architecture in the occident as it did from that of the Chinese buildings in the other parts of the Yuan Ming Yuan. Ch'ien Lung's European palaces contained numerous false windows and doors, excessive ornamentation in carved stone, glazed tiles in startling color combinations, imitation shells and rock-work, meaningless pyramids, scrolls and foliage, and conspicuous outside staircases, not uncommon in the buildings of contemporary Europe. The parts of the gardens nearest to the buildings were laid out in a very formal manner, with conventionally trimmed trees, and symmetrically paved paths. But, in spite of obvious architectural faults, these buildings contained many a splendid view and many an exquisite detail. The formality of the various scenes was relieved by some good Chinese rockeries and by the natural beauty of the large trees on the nearby hills.

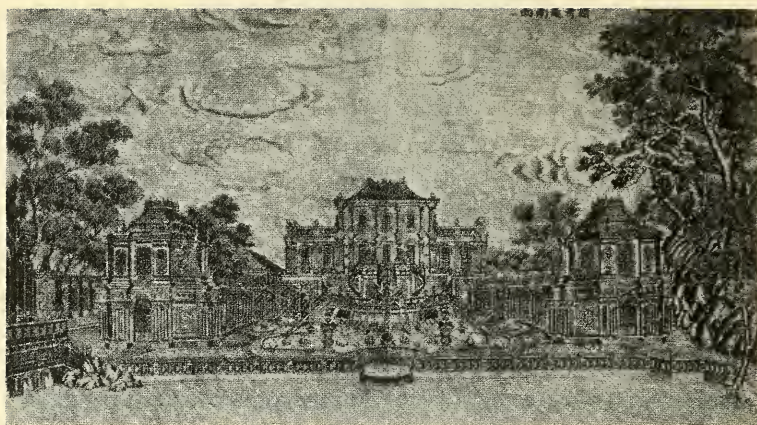
A set of twenty copper engravings of these European buildings is said to have been "the first attempt at engraving on copper made in China under the eyes and by the order of the Emperor." In the following description the Chinese numbering and naming of these twenty engravings is followed.¹⁵

1. South front of Hsieh Ch'i Ch'ü, or Harmonious Strange and Pleasant. A three-story building in the center was joined by curved galleries to two two-storied towers at the southeast and southwest of the main building. Curved staircases led down from the second story of the main building to a pool containing several fountains in the space enclosed between the curved galleries and towers. In the foreground lay

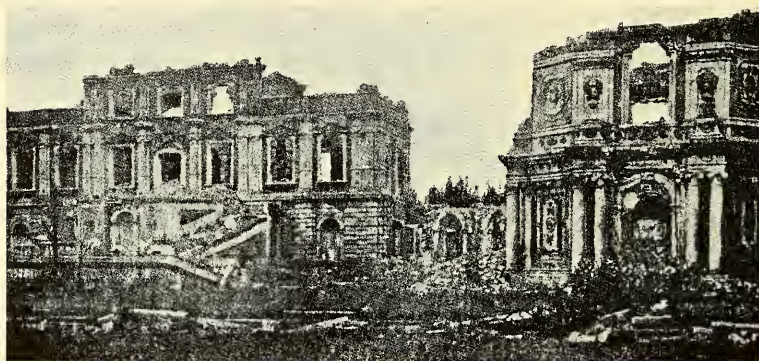
¹⁴Combaz, *Les palais impériaux de la Chine*, p. 57.

¹⁵Combaz, *Les palais impériaux de la Chine*, p. 149, quotes a letter from Father Bourgeois, dated 1786, to M. Delatour, in which he mentions this set, a copy of which he is sending to him. Combaz did not find this original set, but reproduces in his plates xxvii, xxviii, and xxix three inferior hand copies made for M. Van Braam in 1794, from the original paintings and quotes some inaccurate descriptions by Van Braam and Delatour, pp. 153-57. The present writer examined and had photographed in Peking a set of the twenty copper engravings which was in the possession of Mr. Wilfahrt, who had bought them on the street in Peking in 1900, evidently palace loot. Studied in connection with the descriptions in the letters of the Jesuits, the Official Map, the ruins themselves, and the photographs taken before the ruins reached their present state of destruction, they afford our best source for the appearance of these buildings in their prime. Cf. also Pelliot in *T'oung Pao*, 1921, pp. 233-39.

These palaces may be located by their numbers on the map on the opposite page.



SOUTH FRONT OF THE HSIEH CH'I CH'Ü
(Number One of the Twenty Engravings)



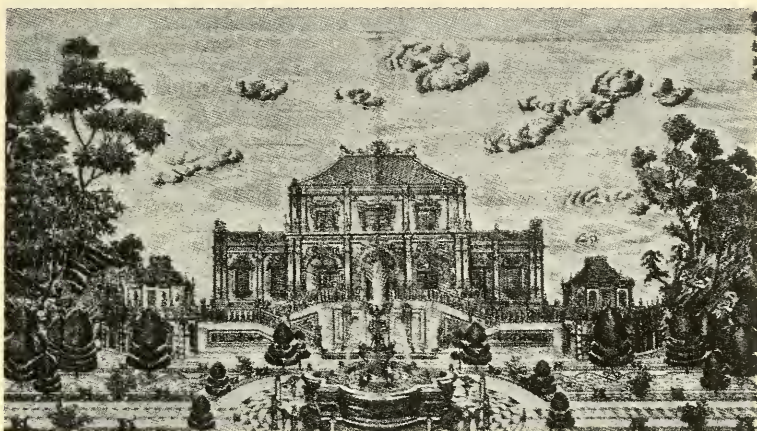
THE HSIEH CH'I CH'Ü AFTER ITS DESTRUCTION IN 1860
(From Favier's *Peking*)



THE HSIEH CH'I CH'Ü AFTER FURTHER DESTRUCTION IN 1900 AND SINCE

a lake with a balustrade along its bank. The capitals of pillars and pilasters of the towers combined Corinthian and Ionic designs.

2. The north front of the Hsieh Ch'i Ch'ü faced on a fantastically paved courtyard containing conventionally trimmed trees.



NORTH SIDE OF HSIEH CH'I CH'Ü, SHOWING FOUNTAIN, FORMAL GARDEN, WALKS, AND CONVENTIONALLY TRIMMED TREES
(Number Two of Twenty Engravings)

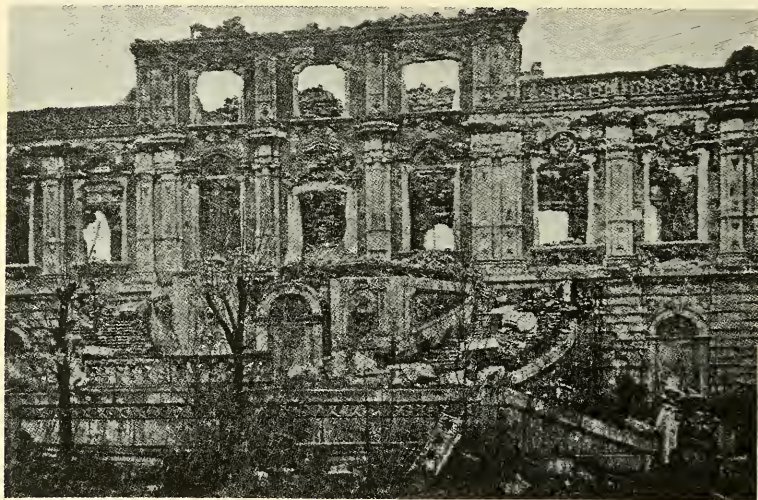


RUINS OF NORTH SIDE OF HSIEH CH'I CH'Ü

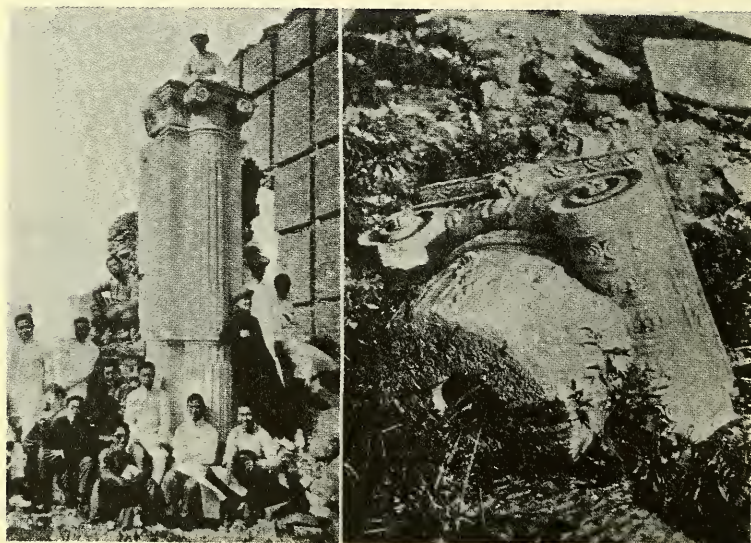
3. Hsü Shui Lou, or Building for Gathering the Waters. A small two-story building with a northern wing of one story faced eastward on the courtyard north of Number Two.

4. North side of the Hua Yuan Men, or Flower Garden Gate. This was the gate to the Maze as seen from the inside. The top of the Hsü

Shui Lou, Number Three, could be seen over the wall outside. The wall was of gray brick cut smooth and decorated with a large pattern in pink and a deep cream tint.

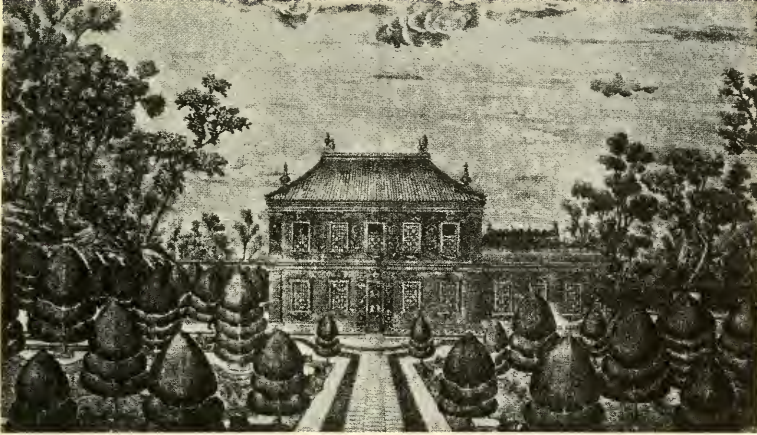


DETAILS OF FACADE OF THE HSIEH CH'I CH'Ü
(From Favier's *Peking*)

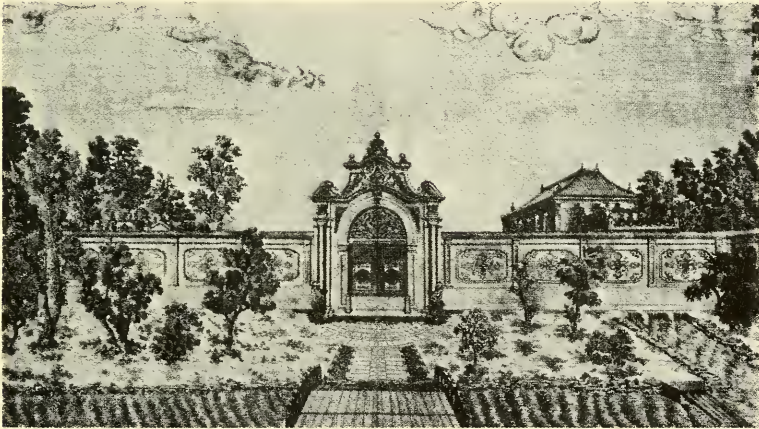


FLUTED COLUMN BY THE CENTRAL DOOR ON THE SECOND FLOOR AT THE
HSIEH CH'I CH'Ü, TSING HUA COLLEGE STUDENTS VISITING THE RUINS
(LEFT) AND CAPITAL OF COLUMN AT THE EAST TOWER OF THE
HSIEH CH'I CH'Ü (RIGHT)

5. General view of the Hua Yuan, or Flower Garden. This was a maze or labyrinth with carved brick walls about shoulder high, surmounted by little slender conventional pines. A two-story building at the



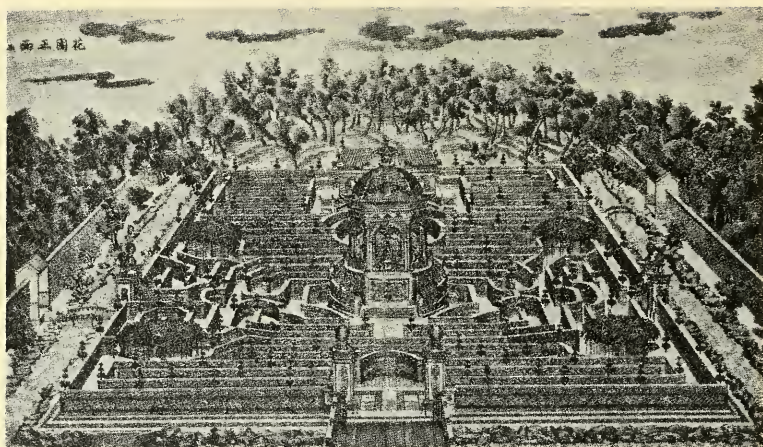
BUILDING FOR GATHERING THE WATERS
(Engraving Number Three)



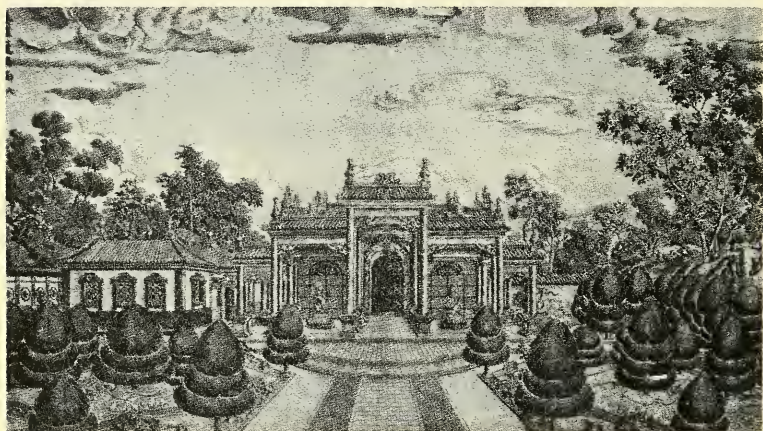
SOUTH GATE OF THE MAZE, SEEN FROM THE NORTH
Building for Gathering the Waters shows beyond the wall at the right.
(Engraving Number Four)

back overlooked the maze, and in the center circular stairs led up to an octagonal pavilion where, according to an old caretaker named Lu,¹⁶ all sorts of mechanical singing birds were kept.

¹⁶Cf. p. 231, for Lu.



THE MAZE
(Engraving Number Five)

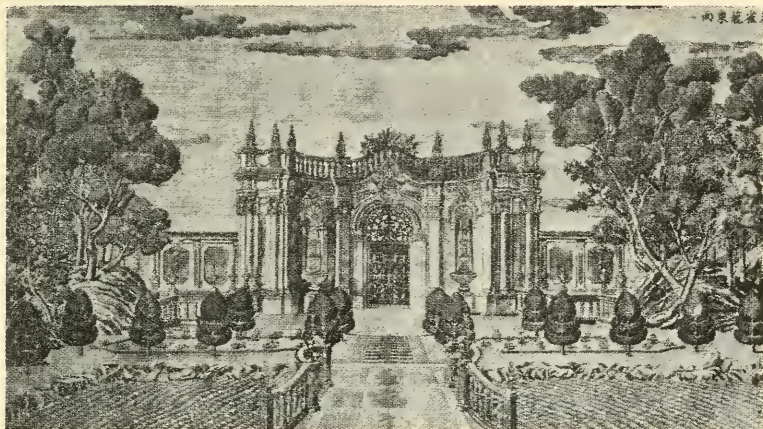


WEST FRONT OF THE PEACOCK CAGE
(Engraving Number Six)

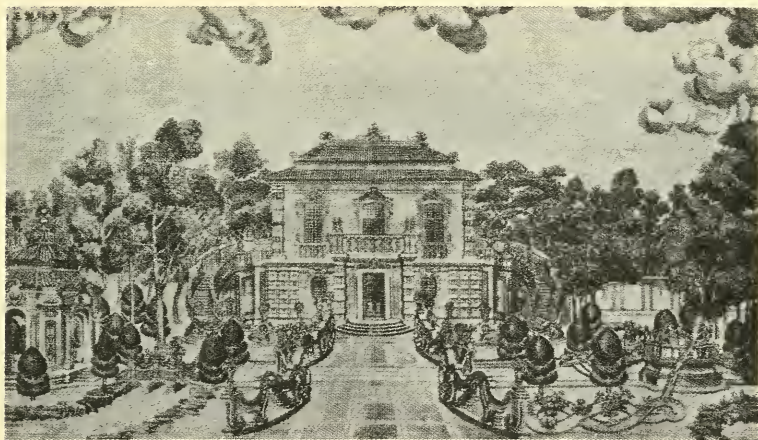


THE PEACOCK CAGE BEING TORN DOWN, ABOUT 1924

6. The west front of the Yang Ch'iao Lung, or Bird Cage, faced westward on the court behind Number Two. Peacocks were kept here until the reign of Chia Ch'ing, according to Lu. Through this building the path led to the eastern part of the garden of the foreign buildings.



EAST FRONT OF THE PEACOCK CAGE
(Engraving Number Seven)



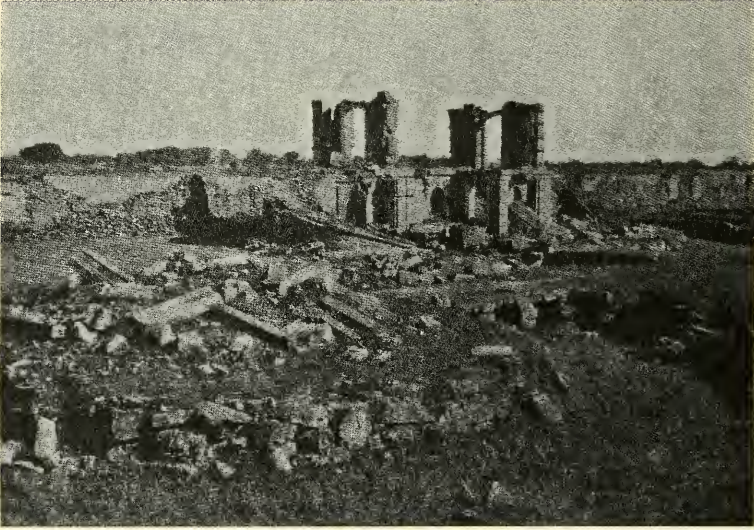
"A LOOK ABROAD"
(Engraving Number Eight)

7. East front of the Peacock Cage. Water flowed from carved white marble fountains on both sides of the doorway.

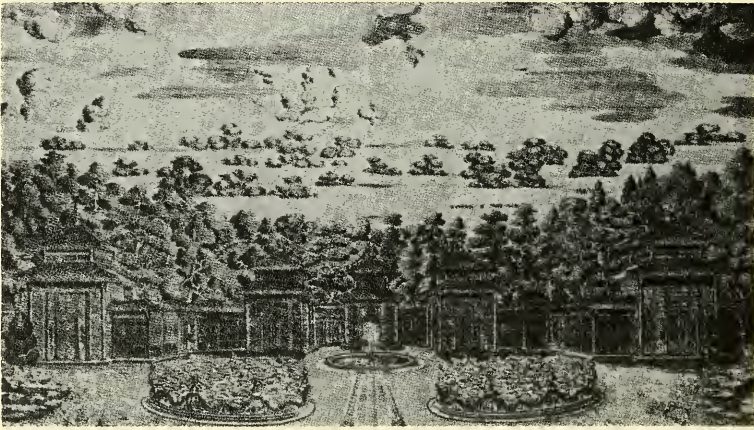
8. Fang Wai Kuan, or A Look Abroad. From the sides of this building ostentatious circular stairways led downward from the second floor.

The flamboyant scroll work of the balustrades of the bridge across the moat in front of it were of carved marble.

9. Chu T'ing, or Bamboo Pavilion. This building faced north toward



RUINS OF "A LOOK ABROAD"

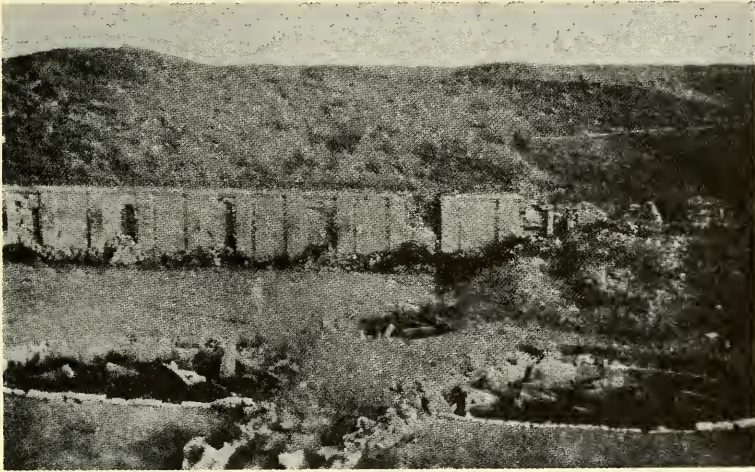


THE BAMBOO PAVILION
(Engraving Number Nine)

the Fang Wai Kuan, Number Eight. It consisted of five pavilions in Chinese style connected by covered walks.

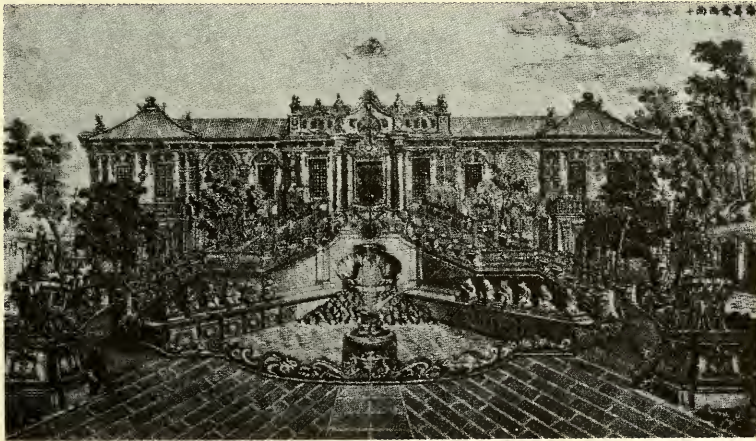
10. West front of the Hai Yen T'ang, or Hall of Peaceful Seas. This

building, which was the largest of the foreign buildings, contained the pumps which Father Benoit devised for raising the water and the main reservoir for the fountains. The most interesting group of fountains in the European group was the one seen at the west front of this building.



SITE OF THE BAMBOO PAVILION

Only the two lotus pools, the fountain, and the wall behind the pavilion remain. All traces of the pavilion itself have disappeared.

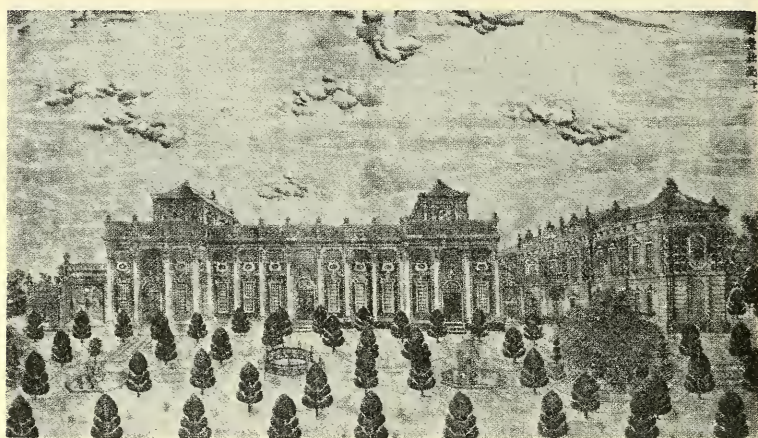


WEST FRONT OF THE HALL OF PEACEFUL SEAS, HAI YEN T'ANG
(Engraving Number Ten)

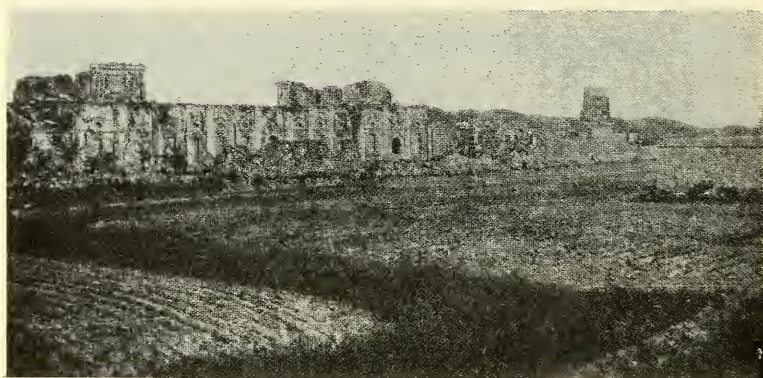
The twelve figures of the water clock are shown facing the pool in the center. The figure of the horse is spouting a stream of water to the fountain in the center of the pool. The hour of the horse is from 11 a. m. to 1 p. m. Little fountains play from each block of the balustrades on both sides of the two broad staircases. Compare these twelve figures with those shown on page 152.



RUINS OF THE WEST FRONT OF THE HALL OF PEACEFUL SEAS, ABOUT 1919

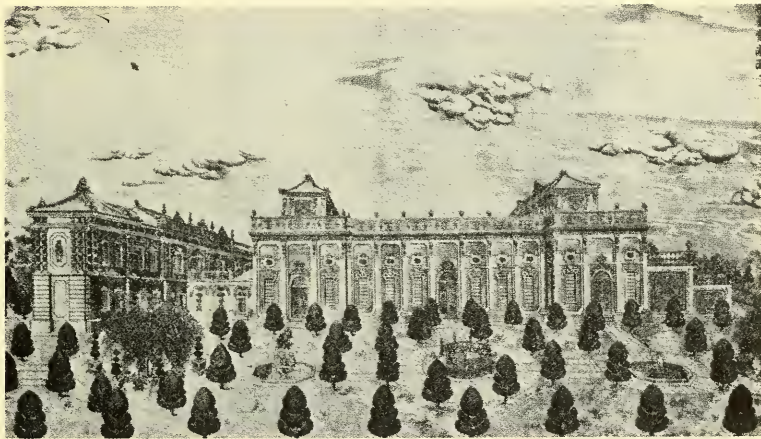
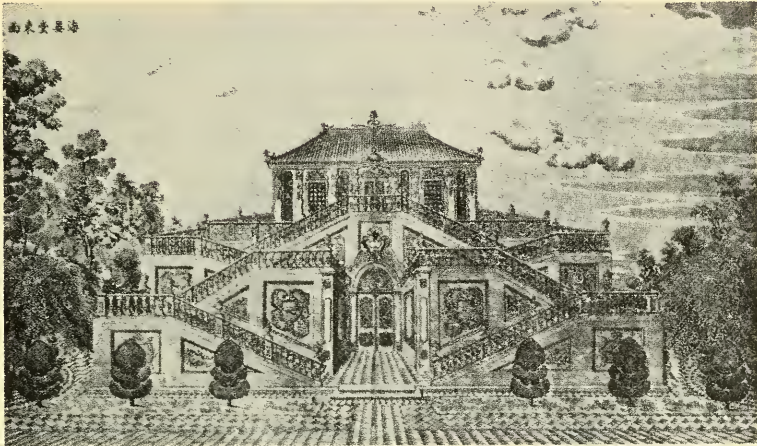


NORTH SIDE OF THE HALL OF PEACEFUL SEAS
(Engraving Number Eleven)



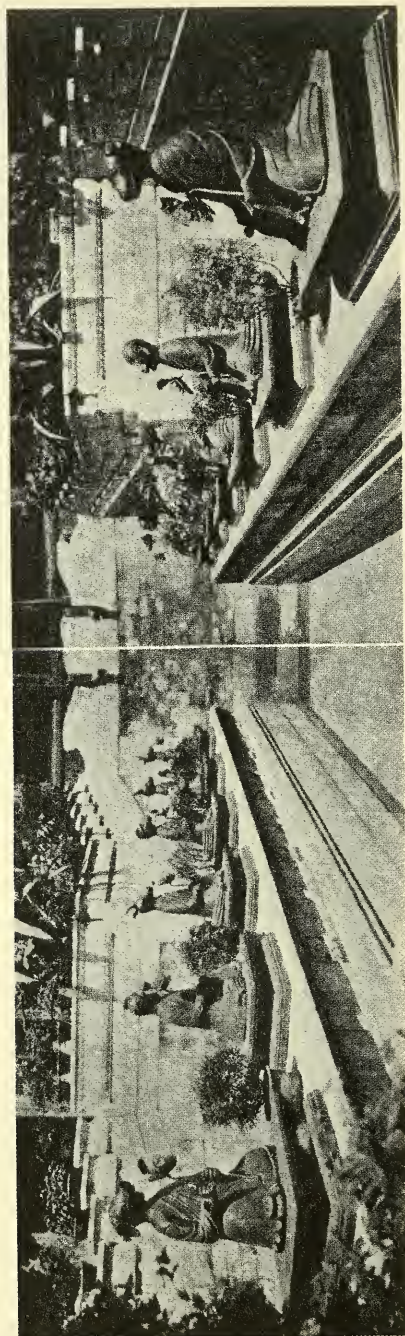
RUINS OF THE NORTH SIDE OF THE HALL OF PEACEFUL SEAS

There two broad staircases one swinging to the right and one to the left, met before the main entrance on the level of the second floor. Both balustrades of both staircases were formed of large blocks of carved marble from which sprang altogether fifty little fountains. The water



SOUTH SIDE OF THE HALL OF PEACEFUL SEAS
(Engraving Number Thirteen)

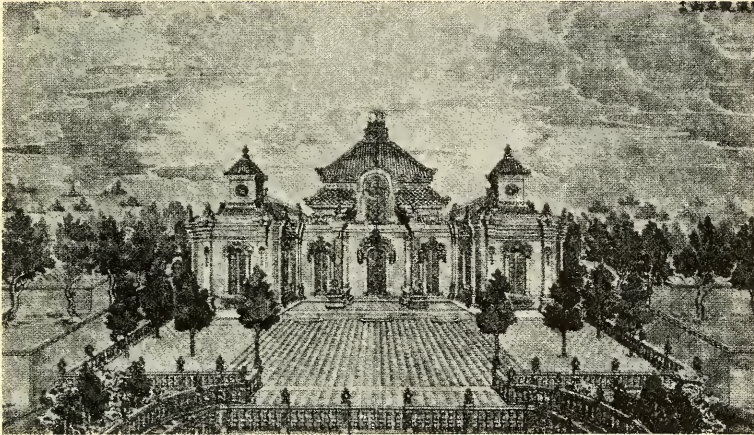
from these formed little cataracts leaping down from one block of the balustrade to the next, until it fell into the three stone basins below, two on the outside, and one between the stairs. On both sides of the central pool was arranged a remarkable water-clock. The twelve *shih*



TWELVE BRONZE FIGURES IN THE WINTER PALACE IN PEKING

These figures are arranged similarly to those in the water clock at the Yuan Ming Yuan as shown on page 149, but these hold electric lights in their hands and are inferior in workmanship. These are said to have been made for the Empress Dowager Tz'u Hsi.

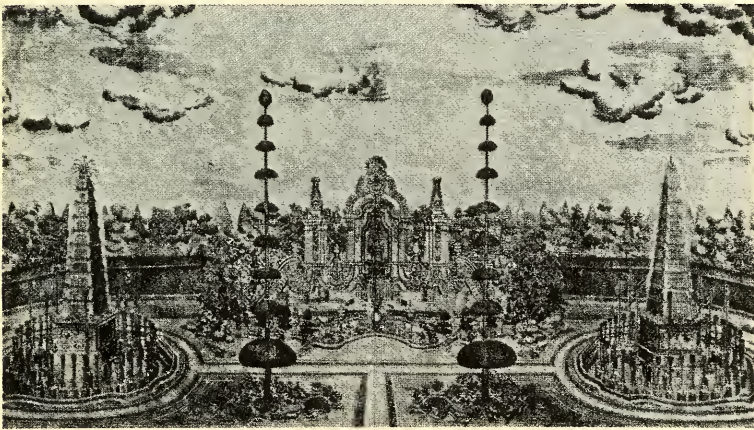
ch'en, or two-hour periods into which the Chinese divide the day, were represented by twelve seated figures of the rat, ox, tiger, hare, etc., their usual symbols. Father Benoit contrived some apparatus by which each of these figures for its two-hour period spouted a stream of water out



"VIEW OF DISTANT SEAS"

(Engraving Number Fourteen)

A large brick building elaborately decorated with carved marble faced southward on the Great Fountains.



THE GREAT FOUNTAINS

(Engraving Number Fifteen)

Little plumes of water are seen spouting around the bases of the tall pyramidal fountains on the left and right and from the tops. Birds, animals, and fishes were engaged in a contest in the central fountain basin.

to a larger fountain half way across the pool. The horse, which represents the hour from 11 a. m. to 1 p. m., is seen spouting in Engraving Number Ten.¹⁷ The hydraulic machinery got out of order after the death of Father Benoit. No one could repair it and the water had to be raised more clumsily by buckets and ropes.¹⁸



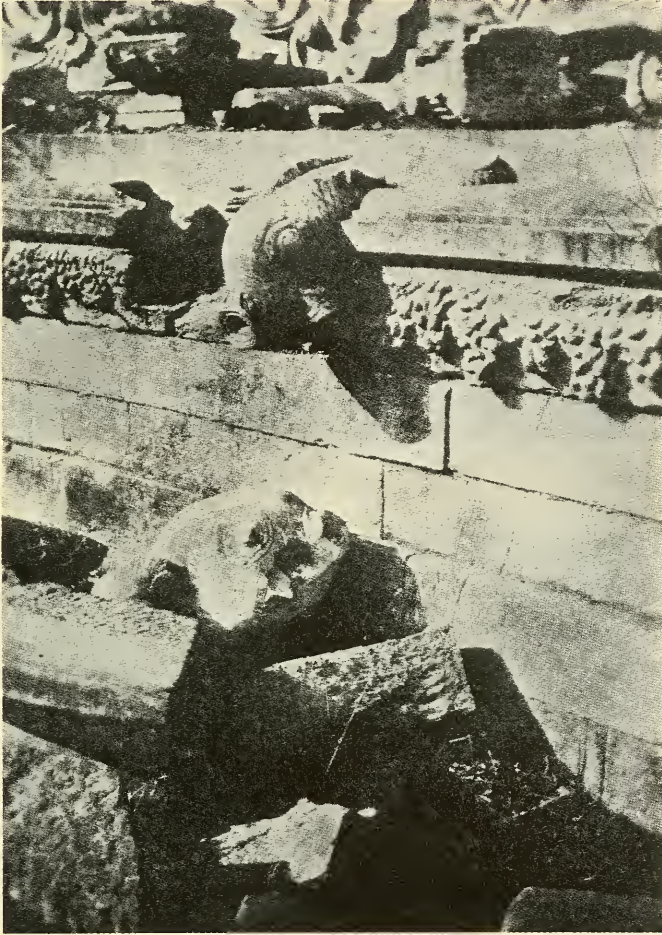
ORNATE PILLARS AT THE DOOR OF "VIEW OF DISTANT SEAS"
Note one in foreground which has fallen.

¹⁷There are in the Winter Palace in Peking a set of the *shih ch'en* in bronze, which are said to have been made for the Empress Dowager Tz'u Hsi. They are holding electric lights in their hands, and in workmanship seem to be far inferior to these represented in the engravings of Ch'ien Lung's water clock. See p. 152.

¹⁸Letter of Father Benoit, of 1786, quoted in Combaz, p. 149; and letter from Father Amiot, of 1787, in *Mémoires concernant les Chinois*, vol. xiv, pp. 527-28.

11. North side of Hai Yen T'ang. The tallest parts of the building covered the hydraulic machines, and between them lay the reservoir.

12. At the east end of Hai Yen T'ang, zig-zag stairs lead up to the reservoir.



DETAIL OF FISHES FROM THE CENTRAL FOUNTAIN

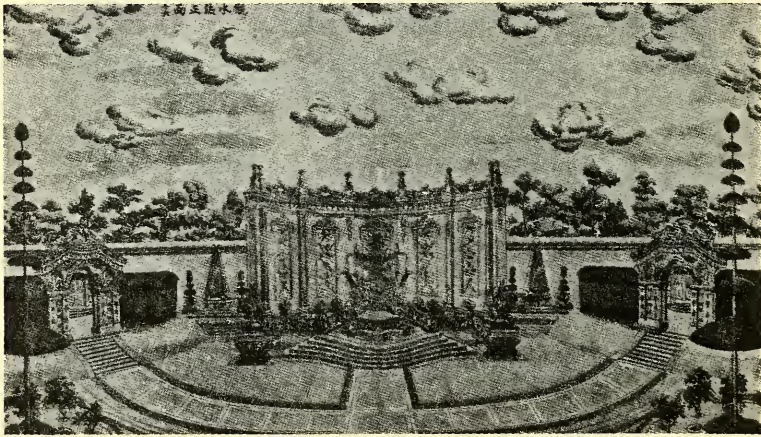
13. The south side of Hai Yen T'ang was the counterpart of Number Eleven.

14. Yuan Ying Kuan, or View of Distant Seas. This large gray brick building was lavishly decorated with carved white marble around the doors and windows and with two elaborately and intricately carved marble pillars before the main door. It stood on a terrace which projected beyond

the main line of the north wall of the park at this point, and faced upon the Great Fountains, for which it formed a rich background, as viewed from the throne shown in Engraving Number Sixteen.



RUINS OF THE "VIEW OF DISTANT SEAS" AND OF THE GREAT FOUNTAINS IN 1924

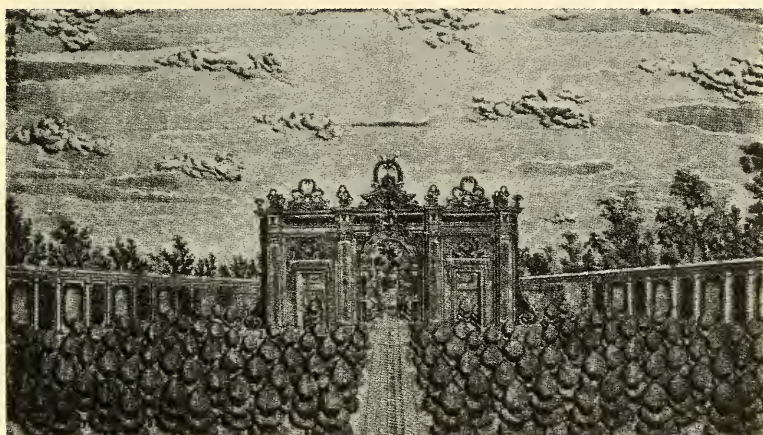


IMPERIAL THRONE PLACED FOR VIEW OF THE GREAT FOUNTAINS
(Engraving Number Sixteen)

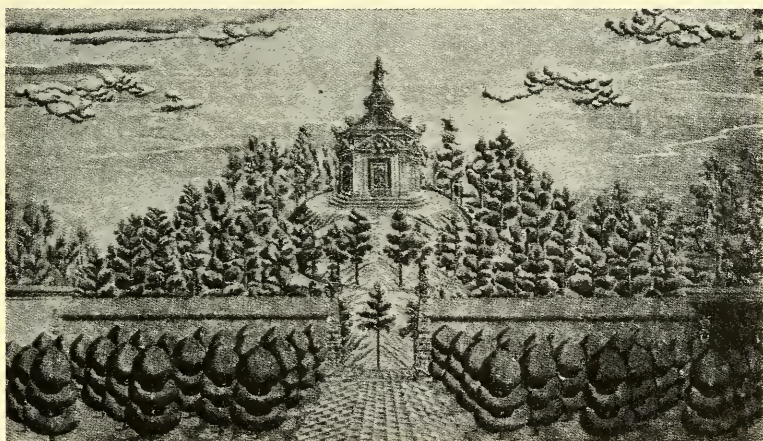
The carved screen behind the throne represents European arms and armor.

15. Ta Shui Fa, or the Great Fountains. On the right and left stood excessively tall pyramidal fountains surrounded by numerous small jets. Farther away and in the middle, before the beautifully carved white

marble front of the terrace of the Yuan Ying Kuan, lay a pool in which many jets of water played on the figures of animals, birds, and fishes, which were engaged in a contest among themselves.



THE GATE TO HSIEN FA HILL
(Engraving Number Seventeen)

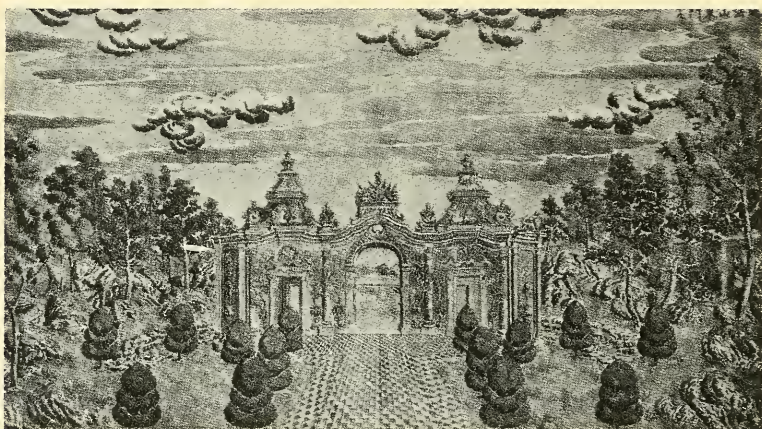


HSIEN FA HILL IN WINTER
(Engraving Number Eighteen)

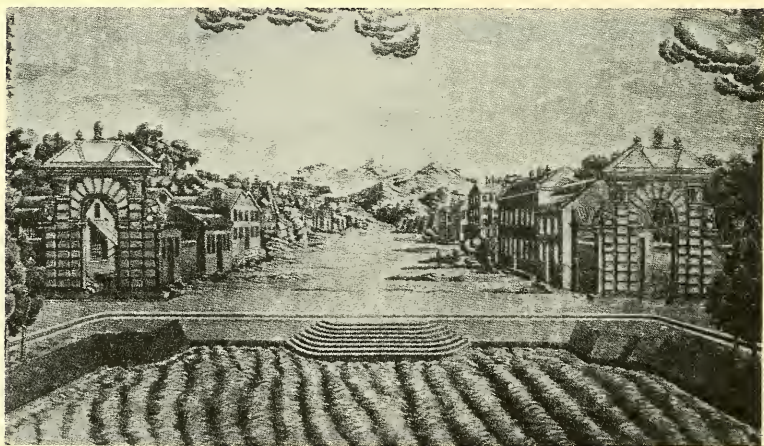
The Emperor came here to view the new-fallen snow on the trees.

16. Kuan Shui Fa, or View of the Fountains. A throne was set facing these fountains and the Yuan Ying Kuan. It had an elaborate canopy, and behind it stood a brick screen into which were set five large

carved marble pannels representing European swords, spears, armor, drums, flags, cannon, and other arms. On the right and left were closely trimmed hedges through which opened two gateways.



EAST GATE TO HSIEN FA HILL
(Engraving Number Nineteen)



"HSIEN FA PICTURE EAST OF THE LAKE," A SET REPRESENTING A
EUROPEAN TOWN AND LANDSCAPE
(Engraving Number Twenty)

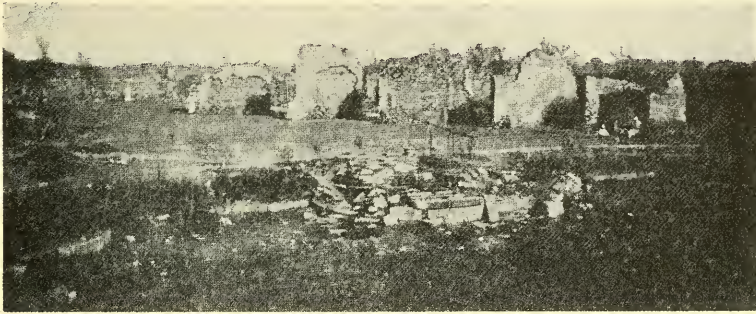
The Jesuits compared this group of fountains and the one at the water-clock to the "buffets d'eaux" at Versailles and St. Cloud. They were actually similar in many respects. Both contained pyramids, formal

pools with carved edges, statues in the pools and fountains, and the shell, scroll, and rock ornamentation.¹⁹

17. Hsien Fa Shan Men, or the Gate to Hsien Fa Hill. A triple gateway, resembling a European triumphal arch.

18. Hsien Fa Shan, or Hsien Fa Hill.²⁰ Regularly intersecting circular paths led up to the pavilion on the top of this circular hill, from which a beautiful view of the new-fallen snow on the trees is seen. The old caretaker Lu said the Emperor ascended the hill on horseback.

19. Hsien Fa Shan Tung Men, or the East Gate to Hsien Fa Hill, was a peculiar gateway of three arches with both side passages leading through side rooms, and with decorations of vine-like trees carved even over the faces of the pillars on the outside of the building.



RUINS OF THE "HSIEN FA PICTURE EAST OF THE LAKE," SHOWING THE WALLS ARRANGED LIKE THE WINGS ON A STAGE ON WHICH THE SCENE WAS PAINTED AND MODELED TO GIVE PERSPECTIVE

20. Hu Tung Hsien Fa T'u, or Hsien Fa Picture East of the Lake. This last view was the representation of a European town seen across a lake. To produce an illusion of distance by means of the European idea of perspective with a single central vanishing point houses were partly modeled and partly painted on walls, five on each side, set like the wings of a stage, those farther back being nearer together. A distant

¹⁹*Lettres édifiantes*, vol. xxiv, p. 421; Perate, *Versailles*, pictures on pp. 7, 69, 81, 94, and many others.

²⁰The literal meaning of these words, *hsien fa*, is *thread method* or *line method*. The writer has heard this term used by a Chinese draftsman, named Chang, for his own methods which he attributed to the teachings of Lang Shih Ning, that is, Castiglione. Mr. Benjamin March of the Detroit Institute of Arts has suggested that the term may have some relation to the mathematical calculation involved in European perspective, a subject which was called the Jesuits' perspective in eighteenth century Europe, and that it might be interpreted as *calculated method*. There is much in the architecture of these buildings to justify this view, as for instance in Engraving Number Twenty.

city wall and the mountains in the background seem to have been painted on the wall across the back of the stage.

These foreign palaces housed Ch'ien Lung's collection of European curiosities, some of which were rare and valuable. Their contents are described by Father Bourgeois, writing from Peking in 1786:

The European palaces contain only European ornaments and furniture. It is unbelievable how rich this sovereign is in curiosities and magnificent objects of all kinds from the occident. You ask me if the Emperor has any Venetian and French glass. Thirty years ago he already had so many pieces that, not knowing where to put them, he had a quantity of the first grade broken up to make window panes for his European buildings.

In the hall which he had made new for the tapestries of the manufacture of Gobelins, which the French court sent in 1767, there are many pier glasses. You see, this hall, 70 feet long and of good width proportionally, is so full of machines that one can hardly move about in it. Some of these machines have cost two or three hundred thousand francs, for the work on them is exquisite and they are enriched with innumerable precious stones.²¹

No doubt most of these exquisite machines were mechanical toys and clocks of which the Chinese court was very fond. But at least one of them was a pneumatic machine which Father Benoit was at great pains to explain to Ch'ien Lung, and in which the Emperor took a great interest. Father Benoit demonstrated a good many experiments before the Emperor in the Ju I Kuan and in his own apartments, and for the benefit of the ladies of the court, and finally it, too, was sent to the foreign buildings for preservation.²²

It seems a pity from our modern point of view that this intelligent Emperor, who took such a keen interest in the wonders of science himself, did not see more in these European contrivances than clever tricks for his own imperial amusement, curiosities to be stored in his private European collection. But dynasty and people had many things to suffer, and many costly lessons to learn before Chinese scholars would open their minds to the serious study of the scientific knowledge of the occident.

FATHER BENOIT'S VIEWS OF PALACE LIFE

After Father Benoit's success with the European buildings he frequently saw the Emperor and had many conversations with him. Some of these were connected with the machines, and some with sittings which the Emperor was giving to a newly arrived painter, for whom Benoit was acting as interpreter. The Emperor asked many questions about the

²¹Quoted from Delatour in Combaz, *Les palais impériaux de la Chine*, pp. 149-50; *London Illustrated News*, Feb. 12, 1921, pp. 206-7, for pictures of Ch'ien Lung's French tapestries.

²²*Lettres édifiantes*, vol. xxxiii, pp. 194-202.

politics, philosophy, and astronomy of the European nations. In one of these quaint discussions in the palace of Ch'ien Lung questions and answers were given which sound curiously like those of modern historical and religious controversy.

"Since you know philosophy," said the Emperor to Father Benoit, "how do you answer a question which is sometimes jokingly asked of your philosophers: the egg or the fowl, which was created first?"

"In reply," said the Jesuit, "I would simply explain that which our holy books tell us of the creation of the world, how on the fifth day God created the winged creatures and the fishes, which he commanded to multiply, and consequently, . . . the ability of the fowl to lay eggs is as old as the fowl itself."

"But," said the Emperor critically, "is what these books say of the creation of the world really trustworthy?"

"Our books are very old," was the reply, "and they have always been held in infinite respect, because it has always been believed that they were inspired of God. They have been passed on from generation to generation without having suffered the least alteration."

"Since there is nothing said in our canonical books, of the creation of the world," the Emperor continued, "should we accept that which is found in the books of others as worthy of belief?"

This omission from the Chinese classical books was ascribed by the clever Jesuit to the great losses incurred at the burning of the books by Ch'in Shih Huang Ti, and the imperfect restoration which took place later.

On another occasion after a long discussion on astronomy, the Emperor who really understood the Copernican theory said to Benoit with a smile, "In Europe you have your way of explaining celestial phenomena; and we also have ours, but ours does not have to make the world turn around."²³

Benoit was also able to tell a good deal of the life of the court from his frequent visits there. He stated that during the whole course of the year the Emperor spent only about three months in the palaces in Peking, during which time he was constantly occupied with the ceremonies, especially from the winter solstice until after the new year. Just before the lantern festival in the first moon of the Chinese year he regularly went with his family to live in the Yuan Ming Yuan, and except for his hunting trip in Tartary, and occasional trips for ceremonies in the city, he lived at Yuan Ming Yuan the rest of the year.²⁴

²³*Lettres édifiantes*, vol. xxxiii, pp. 137-38.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 177.

He also gives some intimate details of the Emperor's food and drink and the arrangement for his meals.²⁵

I notice, Sir, that I have still said nothing about the Emperor's meals, of which I promised in my first letter that I would tell you. His Majesty always eats alone, and no one is present at his meals except the eunuchs who serve him.²⁶ The time for his dinner is regularly at eight o'clock in the morning, and that for his supper is at two o'clock in the afternoon. Outside of these two meals he takes nothing during the day except some beverages which he uses, and towards evening some light refreshment. He has never used wine or other liquors which can intoxicate. But for some years, on the advice of his physicians, he has used a kind of very old wine, or rather beer, as are all the wines of the Chinese, which he takes warm, a glass about noon and another towards evening. His ordinary drink during his meal consists of tea, either made with plain water, or better with milk, or made of different varieties of tea pounded together, fermented and prepared in various ways.²⁷ These drinks prepared with tea are mostly very agreeable to the taste, and many of them are nourishing without overloading the stomach.

In spite of the quantity and magnificence of the dishes which are served to His Majesty, he never takes more than a quarter of an hour for each of his meals. . . . The food which is to be eaten warm is in vessels of gold or silver, so constructed that they serve at the same time for plates and for warming the food. The bottom of these bowls is double . . . lighted charcoal is put in between the two bottoms and the food keeps warm for a considerable time; so that when His Majesty goes to walk in his palaces or in his gardens, he may have his meal wherever he happens to be when mealtime comes. All the different dishes which are to be served to him are carried by the eunuchs in great lacquered boxes some of which have different trays. By this means they do not have to fear wind nor rain nor other harm from the weather.

The great people of the palace do not use more than a quarter of an hour for each meal. Their food when it is served on the table is all cut up into small morsels. They are not accustomed here to serve many courses nor any dessert. Fruits, pastry, and other dishes of dessert are eaten either in the evening before going to bed, or often during the day for refreshment. Wine is never used at the meals which are served at the palace. Those to whom it is necessary, take it in the evening when they have left the palace, and when there is no likelihood that they will have to appear again in the presence of the Emperor.

LORD MACARTNEY'S EMBASSY

In 1793, near the end of Ch'ien Lung's long reign, a British embassy under Lord Macartney was sent to the court of China with several objects in view. These were to improve conditions for the trade at Canton, to overcome prejudices which had been inspired at Peking against the

²⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 204, 206, 208.

²⁶Benoit should make an exception of public banquets at formal audiences.

²⁷A trace of Tartar custom.

British, to compliment the Emperor of China, to suggest a permanent embassy at Peking, and to learn more of the sea route to North China and of the interior of the country.²⁸

At T'ung Chou where the embassy disembarked from canal boats the mandarins hired nearly 90 small wagons, 40 wheel barrows, more than 200 horses, and almost 3000 laboring men to transport the members of the British embassy, their baggage, and the presents to the Yuan Ming Yuan.²⁹ On August 2, 1793, they arrived at the lodgings prepared for them, the Hung Ya Yuan, a villa between Hai Tien and the Yuan Ming Yuan, probably on the site of the old Shao Yuan, or Ladle Garden, and the present site of the men's college of Yenching University.³⁰ As they were not very comfortable here, they were allowed a few days later to move to more satisfactory quarters in Peking. The Emperor was just at this time at his hunting park at Jehol beyond the Great Wall, so Lord Macartney followed him into "Tartary." At Jehol the Emperor received Lord Macartney, who, according to the English accounts, was privileged to kneel on one knee instead of being required to perform the full kotow.

A part of the presents from George III to Ch'ien Lung, which the Chinese considered as tribute, were presented at Jehol, but the most valuable and delicate ones were left at the Yuan Ming Yuan to be set up by the expert workmen in the Main Audience Hall of the palace for presentation to the Emperor upon his return.³¹ Among the presents were a planetarium, a model of the "Royal Sovereign," an English war-vessel of 110 guns, a book of portraits of the nobility of Great Britain, clocks, lustres, an English carriage, and six small field guns. The driver's box had to be left off the carriage because no one might sit higher than the Emperor nor turn his back upon him. The field guns which Lord Macartney had intended to take to Jehol were left behind when the mandarin in charge saw with some anxiety how rapidly they could be fired by the English gunners.

John Barrow, a private secretary to Lord Macartney, who with some others was left at the Yuan Ming Yuan in charge of arranging and adjusting the presents, was disappointed with the famous palace. The apartments in which he and his companions were lodged had a broken ceiling, bare walls, and lack of furniture; yet they were within the palace walls and scarcely 200 yards from the Main Audience Hall, and were said to be the apartments of "ta-gin" (great men). When they were

²⁸Staunton, *Embassy*, vol. i, chaps. 1 and 2.

²⁹*Ibid.*, vol. ii, chap. 2, p. 111.

³⁰Tentative opinion of Professor William Hung, of Yenching University, expressed in a letter of March 31, 1929.

³¹For Macartney's description of this Audience Hall, see p. 76.

given larger apartments they found them still dirty and unfurnished although belonging to one of the ministers of state. The quality of the food, however, went far to make up for the lodgings.

His account of the landscape gardening shows an effort to appreciate the unusual features of the Chinese style but disappointment at not seeing the wonders related in Sir William Chambers' essay. The architecture which he saw did not impress him favorably, perhaps because his observations were restricted to a part of the grounds near his lodgings and the Main Audience Hall, which does not contain the more imposing buildings erected by Ch'ien Lung, but only those built by Ch'ien Lung's frugal ancestors. Even of this part he had only a partial view as he was so constantly watched. "I sometimes, however, ventured to stroll from our lodging in the evening in order to take a stolen glance at these celebrated gardens."

The general appearance of those parts near where we lodged, as to the natural surface of the country, broken into hill and dale, and diversified with hill and lawn, may be compared with Richmond Park, to which, however, they add the very great advantage of abundance of canals, rivers, and large sheets of water, whose banks although artificial are neither trimmed, nor shorn, nor sloped, like the glacis of a fortification, but have been thrown up with immense labor in an irregular manner, so as to represent the free hand of nature. Bold rocky promontories are seen jutting into a lake, and vallies retiring, some choked with wood, others in a state of high cultivation. In particular spots where pleasure houses, or places of rest or retirement, were erected, the views appeared to have been studied. The trees were not only placed according to their magnitudes, but the tints of their foliage seemed also to have been considered in the composition of the picture, which some of the landscapes might be called with great propriety. But if an opinion may be formed from those parts of them which I have seen, and I understand there is a great similarity throughout the whole, they fall very far short of the fanciful and extravagant descriptions that Sir William Chambers has given of Chinese gardening.

Neither did the architecture please him. He heard that in this palace there were thirty distinct places of residence for the Emperor, with all the necessary buildings for ministers and servants.

These assemblages of buildings, which they dignify with the name of palaces, are, however, of such a nature as to be more remarkable for their number than for their splendor or magnificence. A great proportion of the buildings consists in mean cottages. The very dwelling of the Emperor and the grand hall in which he gives audience, when divested of the gilding and the gaudy colors with which they are daubed, are little superior and much less solid, than the barns of a substantial English farmer. Their apartments are as deficient in proportion, as their construction is devoid of every rule and principle which we are apt to consider as essential to architecture.²²

²²Barrow, *Travels*, pp. 122-25.

The center of interest during the absence of Lord Macartney at Jehol was the Main Audience Hall, in which the presents from England were being unpacked and set up before the throne. Among those who were admitted to see them were European missionaries, Chinese officials, princes, eunuchs, and workmen. Some missionaries, who were members of the Tribunal of Mathematics but could not understand the planetarium, were very glad to get some copies of the *Nautical Almanack* of London to the year 1800, for they had been unable to get their French astronomical publications since the Revolution. Officials who regarded most of the presents as of ordinary merit were really appreciative of some vases "which were among the finest products of the late Mr. Wedgewood's art." "The grandsons of the Emperor," says Barrow, "were almost daily visitors to see the presents brought from England." But they were sometimes pushed by the shoulders out of the Audience Hall by the old eunuch who was in charge of them and who told them that they had better be at their school than idling there. It was learned that the eunuchs had been gradually increasing in number since the time of K'ang Hsi, and now held most of the inferior offices at least in the palaces at Peking and at the Yuan Ming Yuan. Because of their peculiar relation to the Emperor these men were greatly feared by officials and princes. Their faces appeared ugly and wrinkled even when they were still young. Of the chief eunuch Staunton says:

Though he was under thirty years of age, he never made his appearance without his face being entirely painted; his person, as it were, made up; and his dress altogether gaudy; and adorned with several trinkets and tassels at his girdle. He was at least six feet high, and very lusty, but ill made, and loosely put together. A girl's voice could scarcely be more shrill or feeble.³³

The Englishmen came to have some respect for the Chinese workmen, who were able to cut a piece of glass from a curved plate, which the English workmen had tried and failed to do in repairing the planetarium.³⁴

Barrows was present at a ceremony held in the Main Audience Hall in honor of the Emperor on his birthday in September, even in his absence. Barrows says:

On the seventeenth, being the Emperor's birthday, all the princes and officers about the palace assembled in their robes of ceremony, to make their obeisance to the throne in the Great Hall of Audience. On this occasion were placed on the floor before the throne, on three small tripods, a cup of tea, of oil, and of rice, perhaps as an acknowledgement of the Emperor being the proprietary of the soil of which these are the three material products.³⁵

³³Staunton, *Embassy*, vol. ii, p. 316.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 287.

³⁵Barrow, *Travels*, p. 116.

Lord Macartney had returned to Peking before the Emperor and was present to welcome him on his journey back to the Yuan Ming Yuan on September 30th, which proved to be another ceremonious occasion.

It was notified to the Ambassador that it was an usual compliment for all public officers to meet him on the road at the distance of ten or twelve miles from the capital. Accordingly about four o'clock in the morning of the 30th, we were all mounted and arrived at our ground about six. The whole road had been newly made, rolled as level as a bowling green, watered to keep down the dust, and at each side, the distance of about 50 yards from each other, were small triangular poles erected, from which were suspended painted lanterns.

They brought us into a kind of guardhouse, where tea and other refreshments were prepared, after which we took our station on a high bank on the left of the road. On each side as far as the eye could reach were several thousands of the great officers of state in their habits of ceremony; Tartar troops in their holiday dresses; standard bearers without number, military music, and officers of the household lining the two sides of the road. The approach of the Emperor was announced by a blast of the trumpet, followed by softer music, "and at that time when all the people heard the sound of the cornet, flutes, harp, sackbut, and psaltry, and all kinds of music, their princes, the governors, and captains, the judges, the treasurers, the counsellors, the sheriffs, and all the rulers of the provinces, that were gathered together, fell down and worshipped," except certain strangers who being obstinately resolved to do no greater homage to any sovereign than what is required by their own sovereign, bent one knee only to the ground.

The Emperor was carried by eight men, followed by a clumsy state-chariot upon two wheels, and without springs. He bowed very graciously to the Ambassador as he passed, and sent a message to him to say that, understanding he was not well, he advised him to return to Peking and not to stop at Yuan Ming Yuan as was intended.³⁶

Since the Ambassador and several other members of the British embassy were sick, they were not summoned to another audience at the Yuan Ming Yuan. The Emperor seemed well pleased with the presents and the embassy in general, but the embassy was dismissed with a haughty letter to King George III and without gaining its important purposes.³⁷

THE DUTCH EMBASSY

The embassy of the Dutch East India Company, which arrived in Peking in January, 1795, to compliment Emperor Ch'ien Lung on the sixtieth anniversary of his accession to the throne, was repeatedly received in the Yuan Ming Yuan and saw much more of these palace grounds and the entertainments there than the British embassy had. A detailed narrative of their experiences was written by the second person in the embassy, the chief of the factory at Canton, A. E. Van Braam

³⁶Barrow, *Travels*, p. 119.

³⁷Staunton, *Embassy*, vol. ii, p. 236; MacNair, *Modern Chinese History*, pp. I-II.

Houckgeest, who, strangely enough, was a naturalized American and dedicated his work to George Washington. His first volume carries the story from the earliest suggestion of such an embassy, made by the Chinese officials at Canton, through the preparations for it, the journey to Peking, the first audiences which they attended in the palaces in the capital, and their departure, following that of the Emperor, for the Summer Palace, near which they lodged in the town of Hai Tien. The second volume begins with their setting out for the imperial residence in little carts from their lodgings at five o'clock in the morning of January 31.

In the darkness Van Braam's cart was overturned in a ditch but he received no injury—greatly to the relief of the mandarins who were responsible for his safety. The story of their first audience at the Yuan Ming Yuan, which took place at the Drill Field, Shan Kao Shui Ch'ang, and was held in Tartar style, should be told in Van Braam's own words. It will be noticed that the Dutch went along with the Koreans to perform the kotow, "the salute of honor."

After being an hour on the road, we were conducted through a back gate within the walls. We were then shewn into an apartment at no great distance to the south, there to wait for the break of day. That moment being come, we proceeded by a winding road, lined with large trees towards a great open space in a wood, where a large tent of the Tartar kind, in the form of a dome, had been pitched for the Emperor. A square yellow tent was erected in front of the other, while six little bell-tents, which stood on the two sides, were destined for the Ministers and Grandees of the Court.

The Emperor's tent was exactly similar in the inside to the halls which I have several times had occasion to mention, and in the middle was an estrade and a throne. I remarked that the instruments and other appendages of the music had been conveyed hither from *Pe-king*.

His Majesty came a little after sun-rise in a palanquin borne by four Mandarins of the gold button. He alighted under the yellow tent, and went on foot to his arm-chair. As soon as he was seated, all the guests performed the salute of honor. The Envoys sat upon cushions placed upon a carpet under the yellow tent in front of the Emperor's, with little breakfast-tables before them as at the preceding fêtes.

After the Emperor's table was served, the small tables were likewise uncovered, each consisting of fifty dishes, as on the twentieth of this month. I perceived all the guests fall to with a great deal of eagerness and appetite, while we contented ourselves with a little fruit, and with viewing the rest of the company. His Majesty again sent us a dish from his, and shortly after a dish of the milk of beans was presented to each of the guests.

The Emperor's breakfast being over, we went with the three Corean Ambassadors to repeat, as upon former occasions, the salute of honour before the throne, with our heads covered. His Majesty himself then presented us with a glass of Chinese wine, with the taste of which I was much pleased. He asked the Ambassador if he were not very cold, and enquired of me, whether in the whole course of my life I had ever been present at such ceremonies before. As soon as the interpreter had conveyed to him our answers, we returned to our seats.

While all this was passing, the orchestra executed several pieces of music, feats of sleight and activity were performed; and at a little distance a play was represented. These various entertainments produced a confusion that soon fatigued the mind, and banished every idea of amusement.

The Emperor being gone, every one rose and followed his example. We were then conducted towards a serpentine canal, there to wait for the arrival of the two principal ministers, who were not long before they made their appearance. We advanced a few steps to meet them, and saluted them in the European manner.³⁸

One of these men is called by Van Braam "the Voo-tchong-tang," by which he evidently means Ho Chung T'ang, whose personal name was Ho Shen, the corrupt and powerful minister whose enormous fortune was confiscated and whose life was forfeited in the reign of Chia Ch'ing.³⁹ He was very kind to the Dutch embassy, took them on sleds along the frozen canals and pools to see some of the buildings of the palace, pointed out a "number of gold fish of an extraordinary size; for the smallest was about fifteen inches long and the rest a great deal larger," and showed them through the Emperor's private apartments.

Hence we were shewn into all the little apartments which constitute the Emperor's daily habitation. They are very numerous, of small dimensions, neatly furnished in the Chinese taste, and containing a few books and some very valuable curiosities. Three only of these apartments can boast of European time-pieces. Each room has a sofa for the monarch, and also a couple of stools, but no such thing as a chair.⁴⁰

Here the prime minister took leave of them and they were conducted by other officials for a quarter of an hour's walk along a high road "to a vast and magnificent palace, in front of which is a very extensive square." This was evidently the palace which Ch'ien Lung had constructed at the foot of the Wan Shou Shan, and Van Braam's description of it reveals his delight at its richness and beauty. He admired the large bronze lions in the courtyard, a huge rock inscribed with writings by the Emperor's own hand and beautified with dwarf trees and flowers growing from several parts of it, and an imperial audience chamber containing a throne on the left of which stood the splendid coach which Macartney had presented. Most of all he admired the view of the lake, island, bridges, pagodas, hills, and temples, which they obtained from the Emperor's favorite cabinet, and which has been described above.⁴¹ After telling in considerable detail what he saw in the temples of the Wan Shou Shan, he exclaims:

With what pleasure would I have sacrificed a sum of money to obtain a plan, and a dozen of the most interesting views of this magnificent summer palace. For to try to give by description an idea of Chinese architecture,

³⁸Van Braam, *Embassy*, vol. ii, p. 1 ff.

³⁹*Cf.* p. 171.

⁴⁰Van Braam, *Embassy*, vol. ii, p. 5.

⁴¹*Cf.* pp. 119-121.

particularly that of the Imperial residence, would be a fruitless endeavor, and almost a loss of time, the mode of construction in that country not having the smallest analogy with European architecture.

He thus abandoned the attempt to express all the singularity, magnificence, boldness of design, and skill of execution of the accumulated wonders which he saw.

On the north side of the Wan Shou Shan they followed pebble-paved paths under the tall trees, passed a village of shops by a limpid stream, and finally were met by the prime minister. He told them that they had seen what no European had ever seen before, gave them presents from the Emperor, and allowed them to depart by a back gate of the palace where their carts were awaiting them.⁴²

On several subsequent days the members of the Dutch embassy were present in the Yuan Ming Yuan at entertainments given by wrestlers, tumblers, and musicians, at exhibitions of fireworks and sham battles at sunset with fireworks as missiles, at feasts in the Emperor's presence when "fragments from the Emperor's table on dishes of massy gold" were sent to the embassy, at a ceremonial dance performed by the Emperor's bodyguard before the Main Audience Hall, and on a sled ride along a canal which meandered delightfully between rocky banks through a wood.

Van Braam's comments on the court entertainments which he saw on his first arrival in Peking, and which he left unrevised later, show that he was entirely ignorant of the Emperor's active interest in poetry, painting, and the other activities of a cultured gentleman which occupied so much of his leisure.

He does not, indeed, enjoy the tenth part of the pleasure and amusements which are at the command of the meanest prince in Europe. His recreations consist of tricks and buffooneries, with which it would be difficult to divert the common people of a European country at a fair; and such were the representations this morning. But as he is unacquainted with more refined enjoyments, and unable to form an idea of them, he cannot be said to suffer any privation.⁴³

At a few of the entertainments ladies were observed in the upper story of the building peeping through the windows, yet never being present among the guests. Their absence seemed to the gallant Dutch-American a glaring lack in the life of the court.

How can gaiety and pleasure be brought into places which are not adorned by the presence of the fair, and where their looks do not animate the sex whose existence they were destined to charm? . . . Everything languishes without the sphere of their delightful influence.⁴⁴

⁴²Van Braam, *Embassy*, vol. ii, pp. 1-21, on the first day at the Yuan Ming Yuan; pp. 21-70, accounts of later visits to this palace.

⁴³Van Braam, *Embassy*, vol. i, p. 241.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 245.

It was a great disappointment to Van Braam that he was unable to get even a glimpse of the European buildings at the Yuan Ming Yuan, of which he had seen at Canton a set of twenty drawings from which he had had copies made.⁴⁵ He was told that these were occupied by the Emperor's wives—a most unlikely tale—and it was impossible for them to be shown.⁴⁶

Van Braam was assured that the total circumference of the Yuan Ming Yuan was little short of three hundred *li* (thirty leagues), and that the European dwellings were but one of thirty-six distinct habitations within its walls, at some distance from one another. After a conversation with a European missionary resident in Peking he concluded:

According to this account, of the authenticity of which I have not the smallest doubt, I have reason to believe that we have not seen the twentieth part of the beauties of this immense domain, to which no habitation of any Prince in Europe is comparable, and of which the cost must have amounted to a prodigious sum.⁴⁷

⁴⁵Some of Van Braam's copies are reproduced by Combaz.

⁴⁶Van Braam, *Embassy*, vol. ii, pp. 36, 43, 69.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 56, 69, 70. These estimates are exaggerated, even if by the term Yuan Ming Yuan all the imperial parks in the neighborhood were included.

CHAPTER VII

THE REIGNS OF CHIA CH'ING, TAO KUANG, AND HSIEN FENG

THE REIGN OF CHIA CH'ING, 1796-1820

The abdication ceremony of the old Emperor Ch'ien Lung took place on Chinese New Year's Day, which fell on February 9, 1796. He had ruled a complete cycle of sixty years and a few months more.¹ Even after his abdication he continued under the title, "Tai Shang Huang," or "Exalted Emperor who has vacated the Throne," to hold the reins of power in his own hands, making decisions, and occupying the central seat at audiences, while the young Emperor sat on his left. The reasons which were given for this nominal abdication were that he had made a vow at his accession to abdicate if he should be granted a reign of sixty years, and that he did not want to be so unfilial as to outdo his revered grandfather, K'ang Hsi, who had reigned sixty-one years.

So it was not possible until the death of Ch'ien Lung in 1799 for Chia Ch'ing to rid himself of the powerful and corrupt minister who had been amassing great wealth during the last ten years of the life of the old Emperor. This was Ho Shen, known to the members of the British and Dutch embassies by his title, Ho Chung T'ang or Voo-tchong-tang. His fall is closely associated with the Summer Palace, for one of the charges brought against him was his presumption in riding his horse through the central gate of the Yuan Ming Yuan to the late Emperor's apartments, and he was forced under torture to admit that he had buried most of his treasure in his country villa, probably located just east of the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan.² Here then came Prince Ting, a grandson of Ch'ien Lung, on a treasure hunt of vast proportions. A few days later the investigators in both country and city reported on 26 out of 109 schedules of Ho Shen's possessions which amounted to the enormous value of 223,000,000 taels. On the same basis his total wealth must have amounted to about 900,000,000 taels. This treasure, accumulated by a fixed per-

¹Sixty years had been dated with the title of his reign, but he had previously reigned a few months of the year in which his father had died, and which continued, as usual, to bear the date of the last year of Yung Cheng.

²Local tradition locates the country residence of this Croesus at the T'ung Fu, a residence which lay close to the east wall of the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan and near the present women's dormitories of the Yenching University.

centage on the pay of the troops and the sale of offices, was confiscated by the Emperor, and the fallen minister was allowed to commit suicide.³

The vast wealth of Ho Shen is an indication of the prosperity and extravagance of the empire in the last years of the reign of Ch'ien Lung, but with the beginning of the reign of Chia Ch'ing the decline had set in. The Miao Tzu tribes of the southwest had revolted in 1795, and the White Lily Rebellion broke out in 1796. This latter revolt, which spread alarmingly, was not suppressed until Ho Shen and his corrupt followers were displaced by better men. But other rebellions continued to plague the morose and unhappy Chia Ch'ing. These rebellions, an attempt to assassinate him in 1812, and an attack on his palace in Peking in 1813 frightened and discouraged him. The guards at the Yuan Ming Yuan were increased. Instead of the 80 men who were to be stationed between the entrance of the Yuan Ming Yuan and the Hung Ch'iao⁴ in Yung Cheng's time there were now to be 240. Instead of 559 officers and men who were required to guard the road when Ch'ien Lung went to the Hsiang Shan Park, 873 had to be on duty for Chia Ch'ing.⁵

The fear of assassins creeping into the Yuan Ming Yuan was so much worse than the danger of fire in the palaces that the new regulations for the fire departments, which were organized in each of the Banner Garrisons, read like a satire. When the Emperor orders the fire department to be sent for, the eunuchs of his secretarial office must notify the commanding officer of the Emperor's body-guard. This commander must tell the commander of the Yuan Ming Yuan guards then on duty. The commander of the guards must notify the officers of every Banner Garrison and of every sentry post around the palace wall. These officers must take the message to the firemen, who must assemble and wait for the imperial command as to which gate is to be opened. They must give to the commander at the gate, the number of their men, their names and rank before they are admitted. In the absence of the Emperor the head eunuch could give the commands. These are the regulations which were actually spread upon the official records of the dynasty.⁶

The fear of a possible European invasion seems to have been at the bottom of a religious persecution against the Catholics which broke out in 1805. According to Timkowski who accompanied the Russian mission to Peking in 1820, a certain Catholic father, "Adeodatys, who followed the business of clockmaker to the court at Youan-ming Youan, and was

³Backhouse and Bland, *Annals*, pp. 342-71. Li Ung Bing, pp. 460-78, estimates Ho Shen's wealth at 2,000,000,000 taels. Timkowski, *Travels*, vol. ii, pp. 3-11, tells much the same story.

⁴A bridge on the road to Hai Tien.

⁵*Ta Ch'ing Hui Tien*, sec. 1168.

⁶*Ibid.*

at the same time a skillful topographer, drew a map of a Chinese province, on which he noted a great village, the inhabitants of which had embraced the Christian religion." This map and accompanying letters to the Pope were intercepted before they reached Canton, and when submitted to Chia Ch'ing, filled him with suspicions. "All of the European priests of the Catholic religion were summoned to the palace of Youang-ming Youan, where they were shewn the letters and map." The person who drew the map was sent to prison, his convent demolished, and a persecution was begun against members of the imperial family who were inclined toward the Catholic religion.⁷

LORD AMHERST'S EMBASSY

In 1816, during this anxious reign, when the actual power and efficiency of the dynasty were declining and its pretensions to universal authority were as haughty as ever, Lord Amherst came to the Yuan Ming Yuan on an embassy whereby it was hoped that he might secure more satisfactory arrangements for British traders at Canton. He had just arrived at daybreak, travel-worn and tired after an all-night ride over the stone road from T'ung Chou to Peking and thence, unexpectedly, on to the gate of the Yuan Ming Yuan. He had persistently insisted, probably in a somewhat tactless manner, that he would not perform the kotow. He understood that it had been excused. But now, before he and his associates had had time to rest and before the presents for the Emperor or the uniforms of some of the chief members of the embassy had arrived, he was summoned to the audience immediately. The Emperor was waiting. Pleading illness, Lord Amherst flatly refused to comply. The mandarins tried in vain to hustle him along in a friendly way, but to no avail. He was taken to his quarters in the town of Hai Tien, visited by the Emperor's physician, and commanded to pack up bag and baggage and return home. This he did without having seen the Emperor or getting a glimpse of the famous garden palace.

Chia Ch'ing, however, accepted the "tribute" sent by the King of England and replied with an amazingly condescending letter. A few sentences from it will indicate its tone:

Your envoys are wholly ignorant of Chinese ceremonial procedure, and the bickering which follows their arrival is highly displeasing to my ear. My dynasty attaches no value to products from abroad; your nation's cunningly wrought and strange wares do not appeal to me in the least. For the future, O King, if you will keep your subjects in order and strengthen your national defences, I shall hold you in esteem, notwithstanding your remoteness. Henceforward, pray do not trouble to dispatch missions all this distance; they are

⁷Timkowski, *Travels*, vol. i, pp. 363-66.

merely a waste of time and have their journey for nothing. If you loyally accept our sovereignty and show dutiful submission, there is really no need for these yearly appearances at our court to prove that you are indeed our vassal.⁸

It was not until the English embassy had gone that Chia Ch'ing learned that he had been deceived by his officials, and it seems equally clear that they had deceived Lord Amherst into believing that the kotow had been excused. In a long edict reprimanding the officials the Emperor said: "It has only now been reported to me by the Grand Council that the Mission had had an all night's journey from T'ung Chou to the ante-chamber of the Imperial Palace at Yuan Ming Yuan, and that the Ambassador, whose court dress had not arrived, had strongly protested at the idea of appearing before His Imperial Majesty the Emperor in traveling clothes." The officials who mismanaged the business were punished.⁹

The next time the English came to the Yuan Ming Yuan it was not with "tribute" and requests, but with guns in their hands, and stern demands, and torches.

THE REIGN OF TAO KUANG, 1820-1850

When morose Chia Ch'ing died, struck by lightning, at Jehol in 1820,¹⁰ both his throne and his problems were inherited by his second son, who ruled as Emperor Tao Kuang. Under him the decline continued and the pomp remained. Besides the wars with the Mohammedans of central Asia in the early part of his reign, and the beginnings of the T'ai P'ing Rebellion at the end of it, China's first war with England was fought during the years 1840-1842. The arrogance of the Chinese government, as illustrated in the failure of the Amherst embassy, and the efforts of the British merchants to force on China a harmful trade in opium resulted in several defeats for China and in the Treaty of Nanking, which brought many advantages to the despised barbarians.

The Ch'i Ch'un Yuan, the southern garden at the Yuan Ming Yuan, which had been an imperial garden in the reign of Ch'ien Lung was the residence of the Empress Dowager in Tao Kuang's reign.¹¹ The Emperor was doubtless on his way to this garden when he and his procession were seen by a Manchu official who wrote a vivid narrative of the incident. The scene is laid at the Great Gate of the Palace at the Yuan Ming Yuan. It must be remembered that before the Emperor passed, fresh yellow

⁸Backhouse and Bland, *Annals*, pp. 382-85.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 388; also Abel's *Narrative*, quoted in Gundry, *China Past and Present*, p. 14 ff.

¹⁰Backhouse and Bland, *Annals*, p. 350, footnote and p. 390.

¹¹*Ch'ing Ch'ao Yeh Shih Ta Kuan*, vol. ii, p. 66; statements by Jung Hua.

earth was spread on the road and sprinkled, the people were kept off, gates and shops had to be closed, and curtains were hung across the side streets to keep people from approaching or even seeing the sovereign. The book of views of various parts of China in which this description appears shows a picture of the tea-house, called the Garden of Peace, standing beyond the Fan Lake and just opposite to the Great Gate of the Palace.¹² These are referred to in his narrative:

My nephew, Tung I Chai, had asked me to visit the Hsiang Shan with him and we had set as the date the 19th of the 7th moon. We invited also Ho Ping Wen and Ch'en Lang Chai. When we reached South Hai Tien we learned that on this very day His Imperial Majesty was proceeding to the palace of the Empress Dowager to pay his respects.

By walking rapidly we arrived at the Peace Garden when the first signal has just been given. The people are ordered to retire from the road and the curtains are arranged. Immediately we go upstairs to watch. The road has been prepared, incense is floating in the air, and the distant peaks are reflected as in a mirror. The early morning sun is rising in beauty. The trees in the palace are sparkling with dew. When the second and third signals are sounded the Princes and ministers dismiss their attendants with the horses. The official guide passes with his horse. The commander of the Imperial Body-guard in his uniform and the chair bearers with their yellow plumes pass by. When the fourth signal is given the keeper of the tea-shop quickly closes the shutters of the shop windows. In a moment the fifth signal is sounded and we hear only the clatter of horses hoofs.

Stealing a look out through the cracks in the shutters we see the face of the Emperor. He is riding quietly with his bridle reins in his hands. A numberless company of prancing horses, champing their bits, follow after. In the twinkling of an eye the road is filled with a cloud of red dust.¹³

Near the end of the reign of Tao Kuang, an official who rose to well-deserved power and honor in the following reigns was kept waiting all day long in a small room at the Yuan Ming Yuan for the summons to the audience with the Emperor which he had been commanded to attend. At length he was dismissed and told to return the next morning. Not knowing what to make of the situation, he called on the chief minister of the Emperor, who had recommended him to the Emperor's notice. After considering the matter the minister asked him what was written on

¹²*Hung Hsueh Yin Yuan T'u Chi*, vol. iii, part 2.

¹³A somewhat more matter-of-fact description is given by Timkowski, *Travels*, vol. ii, p. 58, of the return of the Emperor from the Yuan Ming Yuan to Peking on Feb. 5, 1821. "Conformably to the Chinese custom, drapery of ordinary blue nankeen is hung across the ends of the small streets which issue into the great street through which the sovereign passes, in order to conceal him from the inhabitants. . . . This custom proves that it is not lawful for all the Chinese, even those of Peking, to attempt to see their emperor, who is always surrounded by a crowd of courtiers. It is only when he is traveling in the country that his subjects, prostrated with their faces to the earth, are able to look at him by stealth." Timkowski came too late to see the passing of the Emperor, but had to dismount from his carriage and stand aside when the Emperor's son passed.

the scrolls hung in the room where he spent the day. He had been too nervous to notice them. A servant was sent with a large bribe to the eunuchs to get a copy of all the writings in the room. A study of these showed that they were written by the three previous emperors on the subject of government and contained many historical allusions. In the audience next day the young official delighted the Emperor with his understanding of the matter written on the scrolls. Tseng Kuo Fan's promotion began then and there.¹⁴

THE REIGN OF HSIEN FENG, 1850-61

The fourth son of Tao Kuang who succeeded him in 1850 is called with some reason the "worst example of debauched degeneracy in the history of the dynasty." Under the influence of the eunuchs, who ministered to his depravity, and of the minister Su Shun, who accompanied him on his visits to the resorts in the southern city at Peking, he devoted himself to a life of pleasure while the T'ai P'ing Rebellion was raging in the Yangtze Valley, and the British and French naval and military forces and diplomatists were gaining victories at Canton and Tientsin. Many of the stories of his amours are set in the Yuan Ming Yuan. While they are evidently unreliable in detail, there seems to be none to deny the general impression of debauchery which they describe.¹⁵

His son and heir, who succeeded him as the Emperor T'ung Chih was born on one of the Nine Islands in the Yuan Ming Yuan in 1856.¹⁶ While the Emperor was engrossed in his pleasures the concubine who bore him his son and heir, and who later became the great Empress Dowager, Tz'u Hsi, read the memorials from the provinces and advised the Emperor on public business. When he was stricken with paralysis she became the real ruler of the Empire, and was largely responsible for the policy of resistance to foreign demands which resulted in the campaign of 1860, the flight of the court to Jehol, and the disasters to the summer palaces.¹⁷

¹⁴Backhouse and Bland, *Annals*, pp. 401, 403.

¹⁵*Ch'ing Tai Shih Shih Yeh Wen*, pp. 99 ff., 125, 134; Backhouse and Bland, *Annals*, pp. 402-19.

¹⁶*Cf.* p. 79, note 30.

¹⁷Bland and Backhouse, *China under the Empress Dowager*, chaps. 1 and 2.

CHAPTER VIII

THE LOOTING AND DESTRUCTION OF THE YUAN MING YUAN

THE ANGLO-FRENCH EXPEDITION OF 1860

A dispute between the Chinese and British authorities as to the question of jurisdiction over the lorcha, "Arrow," brought to a crisis the unsatisfactory relations in respect to trade, residence, and diplomacy which had existed between Great Britain and China ever since the Treaty of Nanking, 1842. France took the pretext of the murder of a French missionary, for which she could get no satisfaction from the Chinese government, to join the British in their "Arrow War," which was concluded by the Treaties of Tientsin in 1858. The ratifications of these treaties were to be exchanged in 1859, but when the British and French tried to force their way up to Tientsin by the river instead of going, as they were told to do by the Chinese, around by Pei T'ang, the route taken by the embassies of tributary states, they were repulsed with considerable loss by the Ta Ku Forts at the mouth of the river.

The Anglo-French Expedition of 1860 was undertaken to wipe out the disgrace of this defeat and to force the Chinese Government to ratify the Tientsin Treaties of 1858. The French appointed Baron Gros as their Ambassador, and the English Ambassador was James Bruce, the Eighth Earl of Elgin, whose father the Seventh Earl, had removed the Elgin marbles from Greece to England, and who had himself been Governor of Jamaica, Governor General of Canada, and Postmaster General of Great Britain, and later was Governor General of India. Both Baron Gros and Lord Elgin had been the envoys of their governments in negotiating the previous Treaties of Tientsin, in 1858. Besides several thousand men in the fleets and in garrisons on the coast of China, the British had a force of 10,500 effectives under General Sir Hope Grant, accompanied by a Cantonese coolie corps of 2500, while the French had 6300 effectives under General de Montauban, for the advance on Peking.¹

This force landed at Pei T'ang on August 1st, occupied and plundered this town and another, Sin Ho or Hsin Ho, on the way to attack the Ta Ku Forts, which they took on August 21st. Representatives of the Chinese Government had opened negotiations even before the attack on

¹Morse, *International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, vol. i, Period of Conflict, 1834-1860, pp. 29-32, 49-50.

the Ta Ku Forts,² and these were continued intermittently, though broken off from time to time by the allied diplomats because of the lack of proper credentials on the part of the different Chinese negotiators, and because the foreign diplomats had reason to think that they were being tricked and trifled with.

By September 12th the allies had occupied Tientsin, and marched up the river to within a few miles of T'ung Chou, where negotiations were resumed and seemed to be on the point of conclusion. The British and French armies had occupied a camping ground agreed upon with the Chinese authorities. Harry Parkes, who later was knighted and made British Minister to China and to Japan, was consul at Canton and interpreter to Lord Elgin. He had conducted the preliminary negotiations with the Prince of I at T'ung Chou on September 14th and 17th, and was on his way back to report to his own forces on September 18th when he found near the camping spot agreed upon with the Chinese for the allied armies, large numbers of enemy troops collecting. The troops, which the foreign writers call Tartars, were largely Mongol cavalry under command of General Seng, a descendant of Genghis Khan. They had been called for the defense of Peking and the Emperor because of the absence of the regular Chinese forces in the campaign against the T'ai P'ing rebels. These troops were moving into positions which threatened the allied forces with an ambush. Sending a few of his attendants ahead to warn the British army, he rode back to T'ung Chou where he remonstrated with the Prince of I for his breach of faith. His demand that the Tartar troops be withdrawn met with a firm refusal. Before he and the men with him could regain their own lines they were captured by the Tartar army, and the battle began.

The British and French forces drove back the Tartars in this battle of Chang Chia Wan, and a few days later, on September 21st, the French repulsed an attack at the Pa Li Ch'iao, a bridge west of T'ung Chou, in an engagement which gained for the French general the title Comte de Palikao.³

These battles, of September 18th and 21st, seem to mark the turning point in the campaign. The next day, the 22d, Prince Kung, brother of the Emperor, announced that he had been appointed with full powers to deal with the allies, in place of Prince I, whose policy had been disapproved by the throne.⁴ This seems to mean that his plan of using negotiations to delay the advance of the foreign troops while General Seng gath-

²Grant and Knollys, *Incidents of the China War of 1860*, pp. 68-69. Morse, vol. i, p. 593.

³Palikao is the French spelling for Pa Li Ch'iao, or Eight Li Bridge.

⁴Grant and Knollys, *Incidents of the China War of 1860*, p. 118.

ered his Mongol forces to take the invaders by surprise, had failed. It was later learned that the Emperor, in spite of the protests of his influential concubine,⁵ who became the great Empress Dowager, Tz'u Hsi, left the Yuan Ming Yuan at this time for a "hunting tour" at Jehol, a palace on the Mongolian frontier beyond the Great Wall, where he died the next year.⁶ It also happened that at this same time Parkes and his companion, Loch, who were imprisoned in Peking, were moved to less confined quarters and began to receive better treatment.⁷ But neither Baron Gros nor Lord Elgin would agree to negotiate with Prince Kung until the prisoners who had been treacherously captured under a flag of truce at T'ung Chou should be returned. An advance was ordered on Peking, even though the Prince promised to return the prisoners if the armies would retire and make peace at Chang Chia Wan.

From a description and map of Peking given to General Grant by General Ignatieff, the Russian ambassador, he decided that Peking ought to be attacked from the north side. They might also cut off the retreat of the Tartar army on that side and possibly intercept the Emperor himself at the Yuan Ming Yuan. After several days of delay in waiting for reinforcements and ammunition the advance was resumed. On October 6th the two armies started out, the British ahead on the right and the French on the left, agreeing to meet at the Yuan Ming Yuan. Although they planned to keep in touch, it is amusing to read how each thought that the other army had lost the way.⁸

In the course of the afternoon the British forces stopped at the Lama Temple outside the north wall of Peking, while the French passed behind them, then to their right, and finally arrived at the entrance of the Yuan Ming Yuan at seven in the evening, accompanied by a British cavalry brigade under Brigadier Pattle.⁹ Only a few eunuchs had the courage to defend the Great Palace Gate at the Yuan Ming Yuan. A company of French marines scaled the outer wall and occupied the outer gate and courtyard on the night of October 6th, killing one or two of the defenders and suffering a few wounds themselves. The gates were barred from the outside for the night.¹⁰

⁵Bland and Backhouse, *China under the Empress Dowager*, pp. 15-16.

⁶The writer has found in various books nineteen different spellings for the name of this place, a few of the most striking being Djehol, Ge Ho, Giho, Jegcholl, Iegcholl, Scheuol, Yehol, and Zehol. None of these is very close to the pronunciation of the name in Pekingese. The characters mean literally *hot river*.

⁷Lane-Poole and Dickins, *Life of Sir Harry Parkes*, vol. i, p. 376 ff.

⁸Grant and Knollys, *Incidents of the China War of 1860*, pp. 126-27, and Cordier, *L'Expédition de Chine de 1860*, p. 353; where the statement of General Montauban is quoted.

⁹Grant and Knollys, *Incidents of the China War of 1860*, pp. 214-216.

¹⁰Cordier, *L'Expédition de Chine de 1860*, p. 353.

General Montauban on his way to attack the main gate had asked Brigadier Pattle with his cavalry to keep well around to the right of the palace to cut off the retreating Tartars. Apparently the only retreat which he cut off was that of a withered old eunuch who had tried to escape in the night and ran into the camp of the British cavalry.¹¹

LOOTING OF THE YUAN MING YUAN

The favorite summer palace of the emperors Yung Cheng and Ch'ien Lung and their feeble descendants, a palace filled with gardens which had become famous in Europe, and with priceless treasures of architecture, art, and every sort of luxury which powerful monarchs could accumulate from a rich and populous empire and its dependent states during a period of two centuries, a palace hurriedly abandoned by its occupants and defenders, lay at the mercy of an army of men who were considered as barbarians by the Chinese and who by acts of vandalism during the next few days did much to prove the truth of the Chinese opinion of them.

General Montauban wrote: "Nothing in our Europe can give an idea of equal luxury, and it is impossible for me in these few lines to describe the splendor of it especially under the impression of bewilderment caused by my view of these marvels."¹² The wild orgy of looting in which the French army and some of the English officers were engaged during the next two days was something for which they were so severely criticized that there was a strong tendency to obscure the facts. There was some friction between the French and British forces so that General Grant in his account of the war had to deal rather tenderly with the subject.¹³ The private secretary of General Montauban blames the Chinese of Hai Tien and the coolies attached to the French force for bringing ladders, scaling the walls, setting fire to some of the buildings, and thus starting the alarm and disorder which began about the middle of the afternoon. But looting had begun long before that. He also defends his general on the grounds that the French troops actually got out of hand and that no one could have controlled them in the presence of such wealth which was theirs for the taking.¹⁴ According to one account General Montauban denied that there was any general looting at the Yuan Ming Yuan. But on this point the evidence is overwhelming. General Montauban also said that nothing in the palace had been touched when the English arrived.¹⁵

¹¹Swinhoe, *Narrative of the North China Campaign of 1860*, p. 280 ff.

¹²Cordier, *L'Expédition de Chine de 1860*, p. 354.

¹³Grant and Knollys, *Incidents of the China War of 1860*, p. 215.

¹⁴D'Hérison, *Journal d'un interprète en Chine*, pp. 326-38.

¹⁵Grant and Knollys' *Incidents of the China War of 1860*, p. 219.

"I cannot agree," said Major General Foley, who was attached as English Commissioner at the French Headquarters, "that the place was not sacked. It is true that General de Montauban gave orders that nothing should be touched until the arrival of Sir Hope Grant; but I saw a woeful difference in the appearance of the wondrously magnificent collections which met the eye upon the first entrance into the palace, at 6 a.m. on the 7th of October, of General de Montauban, his staff, and myself, and that which presented itself upon our return to the palace after breakfast about 11:30 a.m."¹⁶

Another English officer tells how the first looting began under the very eyes of the French General. Swinhoe, the interpreter of General Grant, had been attached during the advance on the Yuan Ming Yuan to Brigadier Pattle's brigade and accompanied the Brigadier when General Montauban entered the palace early on the morning of October 7th.

General Montauban led us into the Palace, solemnly protesting all the while that he had strictly prohibited his troops from entering within its walls, as he had determined that no looting should take place before the British came up, that all might have an equal chance. We entered the central gateway upon a large paved courtyard, whereon the bodies of two Chinese officials were lying dead."¹⁷

After going through the Audience Hall to the Emperor's bedroom, they saw there the English treaty of 1858 lying on a table.

The greater part of the curiosities lay about these rooms, and we proceeded to examine them as we would the curiosities of a museum, when to our astonishment, the French officers commenced to *arracher* everything they took fancy to. Gold watches and small valuables were whipped up by these gentlemen with amazing velocity, and as speedily disappeared into their capacious pockets.

After allowing his people to load themselves as fast as they could for about ten minutes, the General insisted upon them all following him out, and kept on repeating that looting was strictly prohibited, and he would not allow it, although his officers were doing it without any reserve before his own eyes. He then told the Brigadier that nothing should be touched until Sir Hope Grant arrived."¹⁸

A French writer, however, throws all the blame on the English officers. He says that the prohibitions of the General were being observed until the English officers who followed Brigadier Pattle were unable to restrain themselves any longer and even in the presence of the General began what was later called plundering.¹⁹ But he adds that the General had allowed each officer to choose some object as a souvenir, and that

¹⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 219-20.

¹⁷The eunuchs who had opposed the French marines the night before.

¹⁸Swinhoe, *Narrative of the North China Campaign of 1860*, p. 298.

¹⁹Varin, *Expédition de Chine*, p. 236.

eventually the temptation became too great even for the soldiers of the French company of infantry stationed to guard the palace gate.

From these statements it seems clear that early on October 7th, General Montauban winked at a little quiet looting on the part of a few officers, French or English, probably both, and intended later to allow it to his troops. In his report, he tells how he put guards at the various gates of the palace in order to prevent anything from being touched until the arrival of his British allies, and that then six commissioners, three French and three British, were appointed to divide the most precious objects between the two armies. He instructed the three French commissioners to select the most valuable objects, from the point of view of art or antiquity, to be sent to the French Government for the Emperor Napoleon and for the museums of art and artillery.²⁰ This was evidently the beginning of official looting.

General Grant wrote of his first sight of the palace:

After breakfast Lord Elgin and I rode over to see General de Montauban. In the distance we at last perceived the Palace beautifully situated amidst gardens and woods, and a range of large suburbs in front. We passed the park walls by a fine old stately gateway, and proceeding up an avenue, came to a range of handsome dwellings roofed over with yellow tiles, turned up at the ends, Chinese fashion. In different parts of the grounds were 40 separate small palaces, in beautiful situations. The park was carefully kept—the foot-paths and roads clean and in excellent order, and there were various pretty pieces of ornamental water. We found that the French had encamped near the entrance of the Great Audience Hall, and it was pitiful to see the way in which everything was being robbed.

The principal Palace was filled with beautiful jade-stone of great value and carved in a most elaborate manner—splendid old China jars, enamels, bronzes, and numerous handsome clocks and watches, many of which were presents given by Lord Macartney and ambassadors from other countries. In a building close to the main Palace were two mountain-howitzers which had been made at Woolwich and likewise presented by Lord Macartney to the Emperor. They had apparently been kept as curiosities and never used. They were afterwards sent back to Woolwich. One room only in the palace was untouched. General de Montauban informed me he had reserved any valuables it might contain for equal division between the English and the French.

General de Montauban and I agreed that all that remained of prize property should be divided between both armies. A quantity of articles was set aside for us, and I determined to sell them for our officers and men. The French General told me that he had found two *joës*, or staves of office, made of gold and green jade-stone, one of which he would give me as a present to Queen Victoria, the other he intended for the Emperor Napoleon. In a stable we found eleven of Fane's horses, two of Probyn's, and one belonging to the King's Dragoon Guards, all of which had been taken from the escort sent with Parkes.

²⁰Cordier, *L'Expédition de Chine de 1860*, p. 354.

On the next day, the 8th of October, a quantity of gold and silver was discovered in one of the temples of the Summer Palace, and a room full of the richest silks and furs. This treasure was divided in two equal portions between the French and ourselves.²¹

Lord Elgin, the British Ambassador, told a similar story:

Five p. m.—I have just returned from the Summer Palace. It is really a fine thing, like an English park—numberless buildings with handsome rooms, and filled with Chinese *curios*, and handsome clocks, bronzes, etc. But, alas! such a scene of desolation. The French General came up full of protestations. He had prevented *looting* in order that all the plunder might be divided between the armies, etc., etc. There was not a room that I saw in which half the things had not been taken away or broken to pieces. I tried to get a regiment of ours sent to guard the place, and then sell the things by auction; but it is difficult to get things done by system in such a case, so some officers are left who are to fill two or three carts with treasures which are to be sold. . . . Plundering and devastating a place like this is bad enough, but what is much worse is the waste and breakage. Out of 1,000,000*l.* worth of property, I dare say 50,000*l.* will not be realized. French soldiers were destroying in every way the most beautiful silks, breaking the jade ornaments and porcelain, etc. War is a hateful business. The more one sees of it, the more one detests it.²²

The looting by the officers and the selection of the finest pieces for the monarchs, Queen Victoria and Napoleon III, naturally made the soldiers impatient under restraint until they too could see the interior of the palace and loot for themselves. When this unorganized swarming of looters began, it resulted in the worst vandalism and a virtual breakdown of military discipline. One account speaks of finding a trap-door leading to cases full of jewelry studded with pearls and diamonds, of soldiers filling stockings and bags with precious stones, of a gold Pusa exchanged for a glass of absinthe. Idols in the temples were bayoneted in the search for the jewels which some of them contained. Objects too large to be carried away were wantonly smashed. Courtyards were strewn knee-deep in silks, brocades, and imperial garments. Fires broke out, and the Emperor's own residence which contained the finest collection of the whole group was burned down.²³

Lieut. Colonel Wolseley, the British Quarter-master-general, wrote of the demoralized condition of the French army:

When looting is once commenced by an army it is no easy matter to stop it. At such times human nature breaks down the ordinary trammels which discipline imposes, and the consequences are most demoralizing to the very best constituted army. Soldiers are nothing more than grown-up schoolboys. The wild moments of enjoyment passed in the pillage of a place live long in a soldier's memory. . . .

²¹Grant and Knollys, *Incidents of the China War of 1860*, pp. 127-30.

²²Walrond, *Letters and Journals of James, Eighth Earl of Elgin*, pp. 361-62.

²³Favier, *Peking*, pp. 254-62.

Officers and men seem to have been seized with a temporary insanity; in body and soul they were absorbed in one pursuit, which was plunder, plunder. I stood by whilst one of their regiments was supposed to be parading; but although their fall in was sounded over and over again, I do not believe there was an average of ten men to a company present. Plundering in this way bears its most evil fruit in an army; for if when it is once commenced an effort is made to stop it, the good men only obey; the bad soldiers continue to plunder and become rich by their disobedience, while the good ones see that the immediate effect of their steadiness is to keep them poor.

Numbers of our officers had an opportunity of visiting the palaces and securing valuables; but our men were carefully prevented from leaving camp.²⁴

Wolseley goes on to explain that this was to avoid the danger of the British Army's falling into the same condition of demoralization as the French. But to satisfy the men who would have grounds for complaint if they saw the French soldiers and their own officers laden with dollars and loot, General Grant asked the British officers to turn in all the loot which they had taken, to be sold at auction for the benefit of the prize fund which was distributed to the troops. To this was added the British share of the gold and silver bullion which had been found at the palace, so that there was a distribution of seventeen dollars, or nearly four pounds sterling, to every private.²⁵

Not only were the cannon and carriage presented by Macartney found at the Yuan Ming Yuan but also presents from the court of France.

In one of the palaces built in the style of Louis XV, there were seen a series of chambers hung with Gobelin tapestries marked with the arms of France, and on the walls were hung full length portraits of the beauties of the court of France, with their names written at the foot. But tapestries and pictures were dilapidated, cracked, and suffering from the neglect of years.²⁶

A paper of interest to Americans was found among other state papers at the Yuan Ming Yuan. It was a rescript in vermilion, that is, by the Emperor's own hand, regarding the presentation of the American Minister, Mr. Ward, who had come to Peking the year before to seek an audience with the Emperor. The paper reads that the idea of the American barbarians that their respect for His Majesty the Emperor is the same as that which they feel for their president places China on a par with the barbarians of the south and east, and is an arrogation of greatness which is simply ridiculous.²⁷

While the Tartar army had fled and there were none even of the Palace Guards to defend the imperial residence, two eunuchs had lost their lives in trying to hold the Great Gate of the Palace. A story is

²⁴Wolseley, *Narrative of the War with China in 1860*, p. 223 ff.

²⁵Grant and Knollys, *Incidents of the China War of 1860*, pp. 226-27.

²⁶Varin, *Expédition de Chine*, pp. 240-41, 244.

²⁷*Confidential Correspondence Respecting Affairs in China, 1859-1861*, "British Blue Books," p. 265, no. 133.

current among the Chinese that the governor of the palace, named Wen Feng, tried to argue with the barbarian soldiers at the gate, but when he saw all was lost, he drowned himself in the Happy Sea.²⁸ This story apparently has some basis in fact, for General Grant tells of a visit to the Yuan Ming Yuan made on October 10th by the Imperial Commissioner Hang-ki, in company with Parkes, whom he had befriended in prison. The high Chinese official "seated himself upon the edge of one of the little lakes, put his head between his hands, and burst into tears, saying that everything was lost, and that he should destroy himself. His principal object in coming, however, was to discover the body of the governor of the palace, who was a great friend of his, and who was supposed to have drowned himself. The body was afterwards found in one of the lakes, and Hang-ki returned to Peking."²⁹

Some of the eunuchs were still present in the palace when the looting began, and according to several stories some of the palace ladies, who were left behind by the Emperor in his flight to Jehol, had narrow escapes.³⁰

General Grant also reports that the very day the French left the Yuan Ming Yuan the authorities reoccupied it and five Chinese were put to death for looting.³¹ The writer has been told by a Manchu, Huang Ju Lan, of the Blue Banner Garrison, that an official, named Sheng Pao, was appointed to look for the lost treasures of the Yuan Ming Yuan. Villages nearby were searched and everyone who was found in possession of any of the lost treasures was killed. If only a small sum had been offered for the return of these valuables, much might have been saved, but as it was so dangerous to keep them, many were smashed and others buried.

By October 9th General Montauban had regained sufficient control of his forces to march them off to Peking, heavily laden with such loot

²⁸*Chin Tai Shih Ch'ao*, p. 24. The serious lack of Chinese source materials for this period and some plans to supply this need are noted by T. F. Tsiang in the *American Historical Review*, Oct. 1929, p. 29.

²⁹Grant and Knollys, *Incidents of the China War of 1860*, pp. 194-95. For the vivid picture of the alarm and commotion caused in Peking by the approach of the allied army, see Bland and Backhouse, *China under the Empress Dowager*, chap. 2, pp. 13-25.

³⁰Douglas, *China*, p. 301, says that Prince Kung and the Dowager Empress were still there when the French arrived. D'Hérisson, *Journal d'un interprète en Chine*, translated in part, in the *Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1901, pp. 601-35, contains the most fascinating and least reliable of all the foreign accounts of the looting. He tells of his discovery of the ladies of the Emperor's harem on an island and of how he escorted them to safety in the home of a Christian in Hai Tien. The tale is too fanciful for belief, even without Cordier's criticisms of D'Hérisson's veracity; Cordier, pp. 386-88. A story in Chinese based on the amours of the Emperor and the looting of the Yuan Ming Yuan is found in the *Hsiao Shuo Yueh Pao*, or *Short Story Monthly*, May 25, 1914, published by the Commercial Press, Shanghai.

³¹Grant and Knollys, *Incidents of the China War of 1860*, p. 203.

as they could carry or pack into their baggage or employ men to carry for them. They had sold much to the Chinese and smashed all they left behind. The grenadiers had their hats gaily decorated with red silk, the picked riflemen with yellow, and the center with blue.³²

For years thereafter dealers in Paris and London were able to offer for sale unique curios from the Summer Palace.³³

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE YUAN MING YUAN

At the time of the looting of the Yuan Ming Yuan the horses and some of the things belonging to the British and French prisoners had been found in a building not far away. On October 8th, Parkes and Loch, a Frenchman, de Lauture, and some privates had been returned to the allied armies. On the next few days a few more of the prisoners, showing on their bodies the marks of torture, were returned alive, and the bodies of some who had died in agony. The stories of Parkes and Loch told of their capture at T'ung Chou on September 18th, of their being forced to their knees before Prince Seng, of their journey up to Peking and their imprisonment in a filthy prison at the Board of Punishment, until their removal to better quarters on September 22, and of their final release by the high official, Hang Ki, to whose mediation Parkes felt he owed his life. The courage of these men in their steadfast refusal, even under threats of execution, to make any promises which would in any way compromise their chief was admirable.³⁴ The other prisoners had suffered the severest tortures. They suffered much in their painful ride in springless carts over the stone road through Peking to a garden beyond with lakes and temples. This garden, all supposed, was the Yuan Ming Yuan. Chinese in the neighborhood of Hai Tien agree in asserting that the place where they were taken and tortured was the Chi Hsien Yuan, a garden just north of Hai Tien and now a part of the land belonging to Yenching University. Here they were tied hand and foot, water was poured on the ropes to tighten them and they lay out-of-doors in the heat of the sun and the cold of the night. When they asked for water and food, dirt was stuffed into their mouths. When the English Lieutenant Anderson called on some of his Sikh troopers to relieve his pain by biting his cords, they were kicked away. Bound as they were, they were thrown into carts and taken one or two days' journey farther on to a town, which local tradition says was Ch'ang P'ing Chou, near the

³²Varin, *Expédition de Chine*, pp. 245-46.

³³Brinkley, *China and Japan*, vol. xii, p. 31 ff. Cordier's *Bibliotheca sinica*, col. 2496, lists two catalogs of valuable art objects coming chiefly from the Yuan Ming Yuan to be auctioned in Paris in 1862.

³⁴Lane-Poole and Dickins, *Life of Sir Harry Parkes*, pp. 376-400, and Loch, *Personal Narrative*.

Ming Tombs. Some became delirious, ropes cut into their flesh, wrist bones were exposed and fingers burst from the tightness of the cords. Worms generated in their wounds even before death in some cases.³⁵ Of a total of 26 British captured, 13 were returned alive, and of 13 French, 5 were returned alive.³⁶

At the sight of the wounds of the survivors and the bodies of the dead, indignation in the allied camps ran at a high pitch. Lord Elgin and General Grant were resolved that such barbarous treatment should not be unavenged. It was difficult to decide just what form the retaliation should take, but on October 16th, Lord Elgin wrote to Prince Kung, upbraiding him for the treachery, and referring to the indignities and ill-treatment suffered by the prisoners, and to the thirteen who had been "barbarously murdered, under circumstances on which the undersigned will not dwell lest his indignation should find vent in words which are not suitable to a communication of this nature." He added:

"Until this foul deed shall have been expiated, peace between Great Britain and the existing dynasty of China is impossible." The Prince was notified that the English would immediately destroy the Yuan Ming Yuan, and he demanded the immediate payment of 300,000 taels for the sufferers and their families in addition to the 8,000,000 taels already called for in the treaty for indemnity and war expenses, and the speedy ratification of the treaty.³⁷

The An Ting Gate, the eastern gate in the north wall of Peking, had been surrendered to the allies on October 13th, after cannon had been mounted in the walls of the Temple of Earth. The funeral of the British prisoners took place in the Russian cemetery not far from the British headquarters on October 17th, and on the 18th, although the French refused to cooperate, General Grant sent a force of 3500 men under Sir John Michel to burn the Yuan Ming Yuan.

A young British artillery captain, who later became famous as "Chinese" Gordon, gives some details of this memorable scene in his letters:

Owing to the ill treatment the prisoners experienced at the Summer Palace, the General ordered it to be destroyed, and stuck up proclamations to say why it was so ordered. We accordingly went out, and after pillaging it, burned the whole place, destroying in a Vandal-like manner most valuable property which would not be replaced for four millions. . . . You can scarcely imagine the beauty and magnificence of the places we burnt. It made one's heart sore to burn them; in fact, these palaces were so large, and we were so pressed for time, that we could not plunder them carefully. Quan-

³⁵*Confidential Correspondence Respecting Affairs in China, 1859-1861*, "British Blue Books," p. 253 ff.

³⁶Morse, *International Relations of the Chinese Empire, 1834-1860*, p. 608.

³⁷Cordier, *L'Expédition de Chine de 1860*, pp. 368-71, 378, 410; *Annual Register, 1860*, pp. 258-71; Morse, *International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, vol. i, p. 610.

tities of gold ornaments were burnt, considered as brass. It was wretchedly demoralizing work for an army. Everybody was wild for plunder.³⁸

The British troops burned libraries of choice and rare books, notably one of the four copies of the great compilation of Ch'ien Lung's day, the *Ssu K'u Ch'uan Shu*, temples, dwellings, Chinese and foreign halls, store-rooms, pavilions, offices, and lastly the Main Audience Hall itself, where the incendiaries camped during the burning.³⁹ A northwest wind blew the smoke of the burning palaces like a pall over Peking.

The name Yuan Ming Yuan meant to the British not only the single enclosure of that name, but the whole group of palaces in the summer palace region. So by a mistaken idea of the meaning of a word, not only the Yuan Ming Yuan and the gardens closely adjacent, but also the palaces and temples on the Wan Shou Shan, the Jade Fountain Park, and even the imperial buildings at the Hsiang Shan were devoted to the flames.⁴⁰

Lord Elgin made full statements of his reasons for taking this course. Time was an important element, for it was necessary in the opinion of the military commanders to leave Peking by November 1, or plan to winter there, which they were not prepared to do. They must inflict quickly and effectively, a punishment which would fall directly on those who were primarily responsible, especially on the Emperor and his court, who had offered rewards for the heads of the barbarians and who were responsible for the cruel treatment of the prisoners. They wished to avoid a punishment which would weigh heavily on the people, such as a large addition to the indemnity, although a *fairly* large addition was made. They did not want to destroy the palace in Peking as that might have frightened Prince Kung away and made more difficult the conclusion of the desired treaties. In Lord Elgin's own words:

I came to the conclusion that the destruction of the Yuen-Ming-Yuen was the least objectionable of the several courses open to me, unless I could have reconciled it to my sense of duty to suffer the crime which had been committed to pass practically unavenged. . . . It was the Emperor's favorite residence, and its destruction could not fail to be a blow to his pride as well as to his feelings. To this place, as appears from the depositions of the Sikh troopers . . . he brought our hapless countrymen in order that they might undergo their severest tortures within its precincts. Here have been found the horses and accoutrements of the troopers seized, the decorations torn from the breast of a gallant French officer, and other effects belonging to the prisoners. As almost all the valuables had already been taken from the palace, the army would go there, not to pillage, but to mark, by a solemn

³⁸Quoted in Boulger, *Life of Gordon*, pp. 45-46.

³⁹M'Ghee, *How We Got to Peking*, pp. 283-89.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*; Cordier, *L'Expédition de Chine de 1860*, pp. 391-93 is misleading when he speaks of the burning of the Wan Shou Shan as though that were the only imperial park burnt by the British.

act of retribution, the horror and indignation with which we were inspired by the perpetration of a great crime. The punishment was one which would fall, not on the people, who may be comparatively innocent, but exclusively on the Emperor, whose direct personal responsibility for the crime committed is established, not only by the edict enclosed in my despatch of the 22d October, in which he offers a pecuniary reward for the heads of foreigners, adding that he is ready to expend all his treasure in these wages of assassination.⁴¹

Practically all those who took part in the act and who have written about it justified it, while regretting the necessity for such destruction. Lane-Poole says: "From the artistic point of view it was an act of vandalism; from that of sound policy it was statesmanlike."⁴² It is even said that General Montauban, who refused to take part in it, later came to justify it.⁴³

Although some of the British and French writers tried to justify the looting of the palace on October 7th and 8th, on the grounds that it was a lawful prize of war, there is really no valid excuse for it. The several authorities on international law who have discussed this particular case have agreed that it was a reversion to primitive practices, a violation of the principle of international law which protects from looting the movable private property of the subjects and the head of a state in war time, and also collections of art objects, libraries, pictures, sculptures, rare and precious objects of all kinds.⁴⁴

None of these authorities, however, consider the subsequent destruction of the Yuan Ming Yuan on October 18th and 19th as a separate act of the British in retaliation for the capture of the British prisoners under a flag of truce, their subsequent mistreatment, and the death of several of them after the most horrible sufferings.

Wilson defines briefly the circumstances under which retaliation may be used. "Those who have violated the laws of war or the principles of humanity are liable to retaliation as a measure of protective retribution only. It shall be resorted to after careful inquiry into the real occurrence, and the character of the misdeeds that may demand retribution."⁴⁵ These conditions were fairly fulfilled before the burning of the Yuan Ming Yuan on October 18th and 19th. But paragraph 28 of *Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field, 1863*, suggests general limits which the British retaliatory acts seem to have over-

⁴¹Quoted in Cordier, *L'Expédition de Chine de 1860*, pp. 387-95. Walrond, *Letters and Journals of James, Eighth Earl of Elgin*, pp. 365-67.

⁴²Lane-Poole and Dickins, *Sir Harry Parkes in China*, p. 250.

⁴³Grant and Knollys, *Incidents of the China War of 1860*, p. 221.

⁴⁴Pradier-Fodéré, *Traité de Droit International Public*, vol. vi, pp. 1107-8, 1112; Nys, *Le Droit International*, vol. iii, p. 326; Garner, *International Law and the World War*, vol. i, p. 435, Quoting Rivier, vol. i, p. 320.

⁴⁵Wilson and Tucker, *International Law*, p. 273.

stepped. "Unjust or inconsiderate retaliation removes the belligerents farther from the mitigating rules of regular war, and by rapid steps leads them nearer to the internecine wars of savages."⁴⁶

The very extensive destruction which the British forces carried out does seem to have been outrageously excessive, even in view of the horrible nature of the offense which it was intended to punish.

The burning of the city and especially the University of Louvain by the German army in 1914 in retaliation for the treacherous and murderous resistance of the inhabitants affords a more recent example of this right carried to unjustifiable extremes. Professor Garner writes on this point:

Admitting for the sake of argument that the civil population was guilty of attacking the German troops after they had occupied the city, it by no means follows that a punitive measure so destructive in its results was justified. The burning of certain quarters of a city in which acts of hostility have taken place could be justified in an extreme case, if no other form of retribution were adequate. But even this doubtful procedure should never be resorted to by a military occupant unless he is absolutely certain of being able to control the spread of the conflagration thus started and prevent the destruction of sacred edifices, historic monuments, libraries, art galleries, and the like, the sanctity of which is established not only by the customary law of nations but by international convention. No consideration of military necessity can be pleaded as a defense for the destruction of such monuments of civilization nor can it be justified as a legitimate measure of reprisal.⁴⁷

The British prime minister⁴⁸ characterized it as "the greatest crime committed against civilization and culture since the Thirty Years War—a shameless holocaust of irreparable treasures lit up by blind barbarian vengeance." His words must be understood to apply, of course, only to the losses of European culture. They could be applied *mutatis mutandis*, with still greater force and for a longer period of time to the losses to Chinese culture in the looting and burning of this greatest collection of art objects in the whole Chinese Empire.

Moreover, Lord Elgin's attempt by reprisals to teach the Chinese the sacredness of the laws of civilized warfare was seriously marred by the looting engaged in by the soldiers of the allied armies at Pei T'ang, and Hsin Ho, shortly after their landing, and especially by their previous illegal looting of the Yuan Ming Yuan itself, against which Prince Kung justly protested and impotently asked reparations.⁴⁹

The question remains as to whether Lord Elgin's choice of this particular form of reprisal was a *wise* one or not, even if it could be shown

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, appendix i.

⁴⁷Garner, *International Law and the World War*, vol. i, pp. 437-41.

⁴⁸Quoted by Professor Garner, p. 439.

⁴⁹Morse, *International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, vol. i, p. 607.

to have been just. Some think that it hastened the ratification of the treaties which took place on the 24th and 25th of the month, and this is quite possible; but from the surrender of the prisoners and of the gate of the city, it might be inferred that a complete acceptance of the allies' demands was only a matter of a few days in any case. Actually the burning of the palace almost frightened Prince Kung away from the city, a contingency greatly feared by the allies.⁵⁰

An English attaché at the British Legation in Peking wrote in 1865:

With regard to the destruction of the summer palace, I believe that, politically speaking, it was a mistake. It was necessary that some great reprisal should be made for the outrages committed by the Chinese; but the destruction should have taken place inside the city, and not twelve miles off; for so ignorant are the large body of the Chinese of what passes outside their four walls, that there are many here in Peking who to this day believe that we had to pay an indemnity for leave to withdraw our troops, and that we are here on sufferance. If this is the case in Peking, in the provinces people must be still further from the truth, and it is the policy of the Government to keep up the delusion. Had the imperial palace in Peking been destroyed the matter would have been notorious to all, and its recollection would not have been blown away with the last cloud of smoke from the Yuen-Ming-Yuen.⁵¹

From stories told to the writer by many people in the neighborhood of the summer palaces, Manchus, police officials, and eunuchs, he would gather that in general the reason for the destruction of the palace is fairly well understood. All recognize that it was because of the tortures of the foreign prisoners and they even agree as to where these took place, in the Chi Hsien Yuan. Strangely enough, most of the stories also agree that these foreigners, who were tortured, had come to Peking demanding silver for the paper currency which they had taken in exchange for goods, but which was not redeemable in Hsien Feng's reign, and that the armies came to avenge their mistreatment.

Lord Elgin's idea that the burning of the palace was a punishment which would not add to the burdens of the people, was hardly reasonable, for eventually the imperial house would repair these gardens or create others to take their place, and the money would then have to be drawn from the people directly or indirectly. The funds used for the rebuilding of the palaces at the Wan Shou Shan by the great Empress Dowager Tz'u Hsi will be discussed in the next chapter. Instead of being grateful to Lord Elgin for letting the punishment fall exclusively on the Emperor and thus sparing the common people, the people of China have come to resent the loss of this palace as a national disgrace and catastrophe.

A textbook of Chinese history printed in 1903, commenting on the

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 612.

⁵¹Freeman-Mitford, *The Attaché at Peking*, p. 116.

whole procedure, concludes "that an educated and enlightened country makes war like a barbarian."⁵²

The opinions of some Chinese college students who only recently made a study of the causes of the looting and destruction illustrate the feelings aroused in young China by these events. One who seems inclined to excuse the looting says: "There, due to the attraction of valuables in the palace, the French soldiers, who had not received higher education, of course, could not restrain themselves from looting."

A more ardent nationalist exclaims: "I only hope that my countrymen try to be intelligent and strong, so that some day we may also march towards Paris and London to set fire on everything there. Who can stop us? Might is right!" This extreme view illustrates the tendency of such retaliatory measures to arouse further hostility.

The same feeling is more moderately expressed by another: "The English and French soldiers became angry because of the bad treatment of the prisoners, but their looting and destruction will make thousands and thousands of Chinese angry in the future generations."

To another student the consequences of such an act for the cultural development of his people are far more serious than the transitory conditions out of which it arose. "To destroy the collections of the finest art and architecture of a nation is the most serious punishment to the people of that nation at present and in the future."

The destruction of the palace also had a real influence on the subsequent history of China. It seems to have been one of the causes which depressed the Chinese Government into that condition of helplessness of which the foreign ministers, who were allowed to reside in Peking for the first time after 1860, complained so frequently in the next few years.⁵³ The Chinese Minister to London wrote that it was a factor in the awakening of his nation:

By the light of the burning palace which had been the pride and delight of her Emperors, she had commenced to see that she had been asleep while all the world was up and doing. . . . The Summer Palace with all its wealth of art, was a high price to pay for the lesson we there received, but not too high, if it has taught us how to repair and triple fortify our battered armour; and it has done so.⁵⁴

Another recent writer sees in this event a foreshadowing of the fall of the Manchus:

It was not until 1860, when Peking was captured by the English and French allied forces who burnt the Imperial Palace, that the reigning house was convinced that any nation more powerful than China existed in the world.

⁵²*P'u Tung Hsin Li Shih*, p. 57.

⁵³F. W. Williams, *Anson Burlingame*, chap. 1.

⁵⁴Marquis Tseng, in *Asiatic Monthly Review*, quoted in *U. S. For. Rels.*, p. 198.

But most Chinese, when they saw the flames of the Summer Palace, read in it not the weakness of China, but the decadence of the Manchu house.⁵⁵

In the ever-widening perspective of history individual cases of injustice, cruelty, and even of national honor steadily wane in importance, while the destruction of the finest treasures of art, architecture, and literature loom up as the irreparable losses, not only of the sovereign or people who produced or possessed them, but of all the cultured peoples of the world.

⁵⁵Tyau, *China Awakened*, p. 183.

CHAPTER IX

THE NEW SUMMER PALACE

THE RULE OF TZ'U HSI, THE GREAT EMPRESS DOWAGER

The dominating personality of Tz'u Hsi, the Great Empress Dowager, actually ruled China for about fifty years. She began to make her influence felt in the councils of the empire while she was still only a concubine of the Emperor Hsien Feng, and before he fled from the Yuan Ming Yuan in 1860. When he died at Jehol in the following year, and was succeeded by his infant son, the Emperor T'ung Chih, Tz'u An, the Empress, and Tz'u Hsi, a concubine but the actual mother of the infant emperor, were both recognized as Empresses Dowager. Tz'u An played an unimportant part in political affairs, but Tz'u Hsi immediately took the initiative. She cleverly overthrew a plot to place the Emperor under the control of Su Shun, the corrupt companion of Emperor Hsien Feng, and assumed the regency in the name of the two Empresses Dowager. She had, in all, three periods of regency which lasted henceforth with only two interruptions until her death in 1908. Her first regency, 1861-1873, came to an end with the majority of her son T'ung Chih who lived only two years thereafter. During his last illness her second regency was begun. This continued through the minority of another child, her nephew, the Emperor Kuang Hsü, who was put upon the throne, in spite of considerable irregularity, by the influence of Tz'u Hsi to insure for her another long period of power. Kuang Hsü was allowed to assume the reins of government for almost ten years, 1889 to 1898, and then forced by a *coup d'état* to stand aside while his forceful aunt resumed the active direction of the government in her third regency, 1898-1908.

While Tz'u Hsi's courage, resourcefulness, and mastery of intrigue enabled her to control the decisions of the court and to overcome armed resistance within the nation, her profound ignorance of the outside world led her into serious mistakes, and her long period of power witnessed the continuance of humiliating defeats at the hands of foreign nations.

It was during the rule of this powerful and domineering woman that the I Ho Yuan, commonly called the New Summer Palace, was built on a *part* of the ruins of the old, and that emperors and empresses last occupied these imperial pleasure grounds.

The double disaster of looting and burning in 1860 had destroyed pretty thoroughly the imperial garden palaces. Chinese buildings, even palace buildings, consist so largely of wooden pillars and a timber frame

for the roof that they are particularly liable to be gutted by fire. The foreign buildings at the Yuan Ming Yuan also suffered, but being more largely constructed of masonry, left more imposing ruins than most of the Chinese buildings. Yet here and there among the several parks stood a few pagodas, *pailous*, and walls of masonry decorated with marble and glazed tile which were almost unharmed. Some trees were burnt and killed by the fires, but for the most part the groves still flourished on the hillsides and the lotus still blossomed in the palace lakes. The walls were intact and the grounds, though deserted by the imperial family, were still guarded by the eunuchs.¹

A young attaché of the newly established British Legation in Peking tells of his visit in 1865 to the ruins of the Wan Shou Shan, where the guardians of the place admitted his party for the sake of the tip, but contrary to orders, knowing that they could make the excuse that the barbarians forced their way in.

We were ushered through a number of courtyards, where there was nothing to be seen but ruined and charred walls, and the ghosts of departed pine trees, and along a pretty covered walk to a pavilion by the lake where we were to breakfast. It was a lovely spot. The lake was a mass of lotus plants now in full flower; there are quantities of little islands covered with trees and buildings. Of the great octagonal three-storied palace, not one stone lies on another, and a white marble balustrade alone shows where it stood.² Higher up there are still a few remains untouched by fire. There is a little bronze temple, a perfect gem, which of course escaped, and two little revolving wooden pagodas³ full of small gods and images standing in a tower were also preserved; whilst above all a larger temple,⁴ built entirely of the yellow and green tiles I have so often described to you, shows what a blaze of glory the place must once have been.

He mentions also a jetty in the shape of a junk standing in the lake.⁵

Elsewhere he describes the condition of the Hsiang Shan Park near Pi Yün Ssu where he spent the summer.

Equally in ruins is an Imperial Hunting Lodge, close by our temple, standing in the middle of a deer park which reaches up to the top of the mountain fenced in by a high wall. This, too, was a favorite resort of Ch'ien-Lung, and he must have spent a king's ransom in decorating it; a gate or two, here and there a summer house, and one pagoda of yellow and green tiles, show what it must once have been. But the whole place has crumbled to pieces,

¹Thomson, *Through China with a Camera*, pp. 246-47, contains pictures and descriptions of the ruins of the Wan Shou Shan, but calls them the Yuan Ming Yuan. See also, P. Piassetsky, *Russian Travelers in Mongolia and China*, vol. ii, p. 87 ff.

²Evidently the large pagoda on the great terrace, the Fo Hsiang Ko. Cf. p. 114.

³Probably those beside the "Wan Shou Shan K'un Ming Hu" monument. Cf. p. 114.

⁴The Measureless or Beamless Hall on the crest of the hill.

⁵Freeman-Mitford, *The Attaché at Peking*, pp. 111-16.

and the deer and game stray at pleasure through what were once the gorgeous apartments of the Emperor.⁶

There are many stories of the attempts of the Emperor and the Empress Dowager to rebuild the Yuan Ming Yuan. When she visited the ruins she wept, for she had loved the beauties of the old palace so well. But rebuilding was out of the question during the early years of the reign of T'ung Chih. The T'ai P'ing Rebellion had hardly been put down in 1864 before the Nien Fei Rebellion broke out and continued a few years longer. When the young Emperor took over the direct control of the government in 1873, the question came up with more force than ever, for it was no longer necessary for the Empress Dowager to remain inside the palaces in Peking to carry on the government. According to one story⁷ it was the Empress Dowager herself who found the city palaces monotonous, longed for the gardens at the Yuan Ming Yuan, and described the delights of the garden palaces to the willing ears of T'ung Chih, until he proposed to rebuild the destroyed palaces, nominally out of filial devotion to his mother. According to another story the idea was artfully suggested to the Emperor during a boat-ride on the palace lakes by the eunuchs who wanted to profit from the vast expenditures which would be involved.⁸ Both stories agree that the scheme was indefinitely postponed, largely because of the objections of Prince Kung, who insisted that there were serious difficulties with foreign powers which were unsettled and there was not enough money in the treasury for such a project.

Officials and others in the neighborhood of the Yuan Ming Yuan agree that in 1873 the Emperor T'ung Chih did actually repair several different places in the old palace grounds, and that they remember various occasions on which the Empress Dowager herself came here.

When another child, Kuang Hsü, had been placed upon the throne the Empress Dowager did not have the same need for a country villa, and the plan to rebuild the Yuan Ming Yuan was dropped.

BUILDING OF THE NEW SUMMER PALACE

Before the Empress Dowager retired from her second regency, as she proposed to do in 1887 and finally did in 1889,⁹ she had given up the idea of repairing the Yuan Ming Yuan. She selected instead the smaller but more scenic site of Ch'ien Lung's garden, the Ch'ing I Yuan, at the Wan Shou Shan facing on the K'un Ming Lake. The Western Park, or the

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 100.

⁷In the *Shih I Yeh Wen*, chap. 14.

⁸T. Choutze, "Pekin et le nord de la Chine," in *Tour du monde*, vol. xxxii, p. 230, quoted by Combaz, pp. 137-41.

⁹Bland and Backhouse, *China under the Empress Dowager*, 1921 ed., p. 109.

Lake Palace, adjacent to the Forbidden City in Peking, was first repaired so that the court could live there in the summer of 1888 before the more extensive building operations at the Wan Shou Shan were completed.

The American Minister in Peking made official reports on these plans in March of that year and enclosed a translation of an imperial edict of March 13, 1888. This document is interesting, not only for its lofty style, which the American Minister notes, but also for the Emperor's reverence for his aunt, the Regent, for his purpose, already formed, of celebrating her sixtieth birthday at the New Summer Palace grounds, and for the defense which her quoted words contain against the charges of extravagance which evidently had had enough weight to prevent the rebuilding of the whole Yuan Ming Yuan. In his decree, the Emperor is made to say:

Ever since our childhood, when we succeeded to the great inheritance, Her Majesty, the Empress Dowager, has conducted the Regency with unremitting care by night and day; and during the ten years and more of her rule the Empire has been consolidated and its people have enjoyed happiness. Last year we received Her Majesty's commands to assume the personal control of the government, but she was graciously pleased to vouchsafe to our childish inexperience the benefit of her advice. When we reflect on the arduous exertions and the unremitting attention, extending to the minutest details, which our reverend mother has bestowed on the government of this great Empire for more than twenty years, during the present and the preceding reigns, we feel night and day inward uneasiness and searchings of heart at the thought that she has no place at her disposal wherein she might seek rest and enjoyment during the little leisure that is left after the discharge of the manifold duties of state. The Western Park, which adjoins the palace, formed the residence at one time of the Emperor K'ang Hsi. Its buildings and grounds are still in good order, and with slight repairs it can be converted into a suitable retreat for Her Majesty.

The Emperor, K'ien Lung, assigned the Ta-pao-en Yen-shou temple in Wan Shou-Shan to the Empress Mother, and attended upon Her Majesty there at the celebrations of three decennial birthdays. In reverential imitation of this commendable and happy precedent, we also propose to restore the grounds and buildings of the Ch'ing Yi-Yuan at Wan Shou-Shan, and place it at the disposal of Her Majesty for use on such auspicious occasions. Attended by all the ministers of our court, we would at each decennial birthday there offer our congratulations to Her Majesty as some slight token of our respect and dutiful affection.

The Emperor goes on to say that he has secured the consent of the Empress Dowager to these plans, and then quotes from her own decree on this subject:

We are aware, however, that the emperors of our sacred line have in the administration of their government ever paid attention to the wants and sufferings of the people, and that the wanton license of former dynasties has been conspicuously absent in laying out their pleasure grounds, in the conduct of their hunting expeditions, and in similar recreations. The funds for the work will be drawn from our private savings and will entail no ex-

pense or sacrifice on the country. Suspicions are even entertained that this is the beginning of the gradual restoration of the whole summer palace. All this is very far from being in keeping with the anxious thoughts we cherish.¹⁰

But the promise of the Empress Dowager, that the expense would be met from her private purse and would not fall on the country, was not fulfilled. Some of her money no doubt went into the building, but it is a generally accepted fact that the funds of the Navy Bureau were used for building the New Summer Palace. The unsupported statements of many writers agree on this point.¹¹ An interesting confirmation of this connection with the Navy Bureau is found in an official copy of the regulations of the Nei Wu Fu, or Imperial Household, for the New Summer Palace.¹² This is a record of the presentation and approval of a petition from the Navy Bureau which stated that the buildings at the New Summer Palace were completed and delivered into the hands of the proper officials, and recommended that hereafter the cost of maintenance, repairs and building be met from the internal revenue tax, or *likin* on raw medicines, and that this fund could be drawn upon for this purpose to the extent of 150,000 taels annually.¹³

In the absence of reliable figures, it is impossible to say how much money was expended on these building operations. According to one account Tz'u Hsi was angered by the frustration of her plan to rebuild the Yuan Ming Yuan and carefully saved her money thereafter, with that purpose in view. "She opened wide the door for the sale of government offices," and in twenty years she had accumulated the enormous sum of 200,000,000 taels. About the time that she was ready to begin the work, the Navy Bureau asked for 10,000,000 taels for a modern navy, a project which seemed so useless to the Empress Dowager that the officials, who were completely under her influence, sent in petitions urging that a garden be provided for the approaching birthday celebrations of the Empress Dowager. Consequently 3,000,000 taels of the navy appropriations were used for the palace. The Empress Dowager continued to save most of her hoardings.¹⁴ Another account says that the rebuilding of the Yuan Ming Yuan would have cost 300,000,000 taels, while the New Summer Palace actually cost 100,000,000.¹⁵ A local tradition¹⁶ has it that China borrowed 70,000,000 taels from foreign countries for a navy, but that this was used by the Empress Dowager for building the I Ho Yuan. This

¹⁰*Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1888, pp. 268-69, 284-85.

¹¹Bland and Backhouse, *China under the Empress Dowager*, pp. 65-66, 112; *Shih I Yen Wen*, chap. 14; and *Ch'ing Ch'ao Yeh Shih Ta Kuan*.

¹²*Tsung Kuan Nei We Fu Hsien Hsing Tse Li*, I Ho Yuan, pp. 36-37.

¹³*Ibid.*

¹⁴*Shih I Yen Wen*, chap. 14.

¹⁵*Ch'ing Ch'ao Yeh Shih Ta Kuan*.

¹⁶A Mr. Hung.

comes very close to \$50,000,000, U. S. currency, the amount named by a popular American journalist who claims to have talked with many palace servants.¹⁷

The establishment of a naval school at the K'un Ming Lake in the years 1887-1890 may have been a pretense to regularize the expenditure of so much of the naval funds there. But the steam launches, which the boy Emperor is said to have hitched to the imperial barges to take the ladies of the court on pleasure trips about the lake in the cool of summer



VIEW OF ISLAND IN THE K'UN MING LAKE FROM THE WAN SHOU SHAN

This view from among the palace roofs of green and yellow glazed tile shows the east embankment of the lake, the Seventeen-arch Bridge, and the island on which the temple of the Dragon King still stands.

evenings, were evidence of a real interest in the wonderful mechanical appliances of the western countries.¹⁸

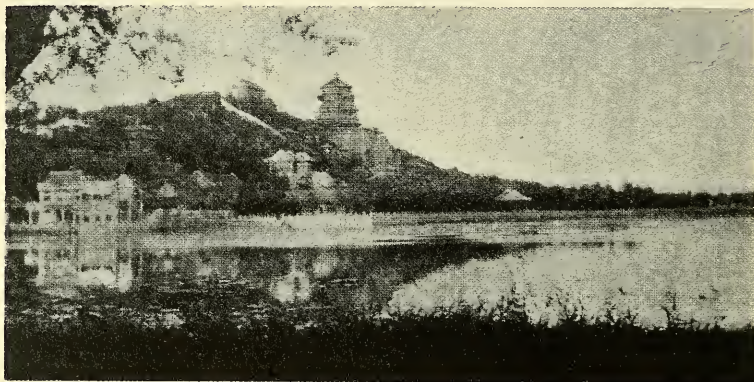
One of the first steps in the work at the Wan Shou Shan was to complete a wall around the whole garden and lake. Thereafter people outside the palace could no longer cross the Seventeen-Arch Bridge to the Temple of the Dragon King on the Island nor stroll along the west embankment, as they had been able to do in the days of Ch'ien Lung and

¹⁷"I'll Take Those 50 Million Dollars," an amusing article by Archie Bell in the *Ladies' Home Journal*, Feb., 1919, pp. 15, 82.

¹⁸Headland, *Court Life in China*, p. 121.

since.¹⁹ A story of the flood from which the nearby villages suffered in the next summer, and which was attributed by the people to the fury of the Dragon King at being so walled in, is told below.²⁰

The East Gate and the Audience Hall near it were repaired. The huge water-worn rock in the middle courtyard is said to have been brought there from the old garden of Mo Er Ken, which had been the Ladle Garden in Ch'ien Lung's time. From the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan were brought the Rapier Rocks, some tall sharp shafts of ornamental stone which now stand on the southern slope of the Wan Shou Shan, and the large bronze lions on the terrace facing the lake before the central temple,



THE NEW SUMMER PALACE ON THE WAN SHOU SHAN, VIEWED FROM
THE WEST SHORE OF THE K'UN MING LAKE
(The marble boat shows at the left)

P'ai Yun Tien. This building, the most splendid of all the buildings in the New Summer Palace, was built on the site of the great temple, Ta Pao En Yen Shou Ssu, which Ch'ien Lung built in honor of his mother's sixtieth birthday. Some of the images Tz'u Hsi had moved to the large temple which she restored on the north side of the hill. The great pagoda was rebuilt on the high terrace, but the glazed tile temple on the hill crest, built almost entirely of masonry, did not need much repairing. The bronze pavilion, the temple with the prayer-wheels, and the beautiful glazed tile pagoda on the north slope of the hill had also been spared. Residences for the Emperor not far from the Audience Hall, for the Empress behind the Emperor's apartments, and for the Empress Dowager nearby, were all built close to the margin of the lake. Many smaller and simpler dwellings for the other ladies of the court were built, along the

¹⁹Huang Ju Lan and *Ho Shih Lu*, p. 37.

²⁰See pp. 203-206.

southern slope of the hill. Last, but not least, a great theater, with three stages, one above another, was erected near the imperial apartments.²¹

The new gardens of the Empress Dowager were given the name I Ho Yuan, which means literally Garden of Smiling Harmony, but which has



BRONZE INCENSE BURNER IN A COURTYARD OF THE NEW SUMMER PALACE

an additional connotation, "to give rest and peace to Heaven-sent old age," from the sentence in the *Book of Rites* in which the phrase occurs.²² It is still one of the finest examples of Chinese landscape gardening. "There Chinese gardening may be seen at its best, and it calls forth admiration from all visitors."²³

²¹*Ho Shih Lu*, pp. 31-39.

²²Bland and Backhouse, *China under the Empress Dowager*, p. 112.

²³Ernest H. Wilson, *China, Mother of Gardens*, p. 322.

At her beautiful new garden, the I Ho Yuan, which had just been completed, the Empress Dowager was preparing to celebrate in November her sixtieth birthday with a splendor recalling the days of K'ang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung. All the high officials in the Empire were "invited" to con-



THE THREE-STORIED STAGE IN THE THEATRE IN THE
NEW SUMMER PALACE

tribute a fourth of their salaries as a birthday gift to Her Majesty. This must have totaled several million taels. Ten million taels were to be spent on the festivities.²⁴ The road from the Hsi Chih Men to the New Summer Palace was being lined with temporary theaters, *pailous*, temples and other decorations, as had been done on the occasion of K'ang Hsi's sixtieth birthday. The Emperor and all his court were to go out to the I Ho

²⁴Morse, *International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, vol. iii, p. 31.

Yuan to congratulate Her Majesty in the great temple on the Hill of Imperial Longevity. These preparations continued even after the outbreak of the war with Japan. But instead of a navy which could keep command of the sea, the Empress Dowager of China had a new Summer Palace on the Wan Shou Shan and the Emperor had some steam launches on the K'un Ming Lake. When the news of defeats by sea and by land came to the court, these festive plans were cancelled at the request of the Empress Dowager, who, instead, contributed 3,000,000 taels for the comfort of the troops at the front, and received her birthday congratulations simply in the palace in Peking.²⁵ "Thereafter the bright colors of the I Ho Yuan faded and the spot of the naval board misappropriations grew blacker."

THE FURY OF THE DRAGON KING (RECENT FOLKLORE)²⁶

The year 1890 is well remembered in the neighborhood of the New Summer Palace as the year of the great flood. It was a weird disturbance in the normally well-behaved water-courses adjacent to the imperial summer palaces. And it is quite clear to those who profess to understand the occult forces which regulate the waters in the heavens above and in the earth beneath and in the lakes and streams on the surface of the earth that the Dragon King, who rules this moist empire, and the Great Empress Dowager, who provoked him, were both partly responsible for it.

For only the previous year the Dragon King, whose home is in the depths of the K'un Ming Lake at the New Summer Palace, had been surprised to see a wall being built around this lake where there had been none before. He soon found himself entirely enclosed within the grounds of the Summer Palace which the Empress Dowager was rebuilding. The first principles of *feng shui* would teach one that the Dragon King might avenge himself for such an insult with all the water-power at his disposal.

It so happened at the very next rainy season. Day after day rain fell incessantly till all the lakes and streams were full to the brim. The Jade Fountain and all the other innumerable springs which feed the Summer Palace Lake and its outlets gushed and spouted until over-burdened dikes could no longer restrain their floods. At the Fire Arms Garrison Village, just south of the New Summer Palace, the water stood two feet deep in the houses of the Manchu Bannermen. Families had to live on their *k'angs*. Their chairs and cupboards went floating out the doors. In their extremity some women even took off their shoes to wade in the water,

²⁵Bland and Backhouse, *China under the Empress Dowager*, pp. 98-99, 167; Morse, *International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, vol. iii, pp. 33, 35. *Ch'ing Tai Shih Yeh Yeh Wen*, p. 152.

²⁶Told by Huang Ju Lan.

thus exposing their feet to the public gaze. At the Sixth Son's Village the water was still deeper. There the people had to abandon their houses and take refuge on the hill which stands just northwest of their town.



WEST GATE OF THE PLAIN WHITE BANNER GARRISON VILLAGE

The shrine of the Three Gods stands on the platform over the gate. The stone bridge over the moat is shown in the foreground. The picture was taken from the dike.

But the most remarkable incident which occurred during this inundation took place at a Manchu village directly north of the Yuan Ming Yuan and close beside the bed of a stream which runs down from the Western Hills. The Plain White Banner Garrison Village is one of the

long chain of garrisons whose troops guarded the gates of the summer palaces and the roads when His Majesty traveled.

Now it so happened that after several days of incessant rain when the ground could absorb no more and the roofs were leaking and walls crumbling, a tremendous downpour occurred on the seventh day of the Seventh Moon, the very day on which the sacrifices were to be made by the garrison commander and the captains of the Plain White Banner Garrison to the Three Gods, whose shrine stands above the West Gate of their village.

The offering regularly consisted of a whole pig, set before the gods on an enormous platter carried by two men. Incense was burned and firecrackers were set off while the officials kotowed. The pig was then cut into eight parts, which were replaced together and again offered before the gods with burning of incense but without firecrackers. The third time, the pig was boiled before it was offered to the gods, and after that all the officials of the village partook of the feast.

Just outside of the West Gate where these rites were wont to take place, there stands a dike which protects the village from the rush of mountain freshets at times of the heaviest summer rains. While it was a fascinating sight for the village boys to watch the flood come rushing down this ordinarily dry bed, filling the moat around the garrison walls with swirling muddy water, for their elders it was always a cause of anxiety lest somehow the dike might not hold and the village itself be swept away.

Never did they have such cause to fear disaster as on this occasion when the Dragon King himself lent power to the flood. Its menacing rush and force alarmed the man who first saw it approaching. With terror in his voice he ran shouting through the village. "The mountain water is coming! The mountain water is coming!" It was no imaginary danger. Children were gathered to their homes, and the people, ignorant of the magnitude of the impending danger, hesitated to abandon their houses and goods to flee into the storm. Fear clutched their hearts, fear for their possessions, fear for their lives.

The alarm came just as the officers of the garrison were putting on their official garments to walk in solemn procession to perform the ceremonies to the Three Gods at that very West Gate, the point of greatest danger. But neither the deluge from the darkened sky nor the ominous roar of the rising flood could deter these descendants of conquering warriors from the path of their duty. In the midst of the heaviest downpour that the Dragon King could spill out of the clouds, they set out from their headquarters, clad in their official uniforms, without umbrellas, and proceeded defiantly through the mire and storm to the stone bridge over

the moat beyond the gate. Umbrellas would have been unceremonious—even sacrilegious.

When the officials arrived at the West Gate the flood had already risen to the very top of the dike which protected the village from its fury. In the shrine over the gate the offering was being arranged on the altar before the Three Gods, while the dripping officials below watched and waited with perfect dignity. The composure of the images seemed almost unaccountable under the circumstances. The lightning flashed in the sky above as the incense was lighted on the altar. The gilded gods gleamed through the smoky dimness of their shrine. The rattle and popping of the firecrackers, the ringing of the old iron bell, and the pounding of the hollow wooden rattle before the altar were drowned out by the peals of thunder and the redoubling of the downpour from the black clouds above.

The flood was actually pouring over the dike, threatening to sweep the worshippers and village away together, when the master of ceremonies called upon the loyal officials waiting on the bridge to kneel and kotow. Forgetful of their own personal danger and thinking only of their duty and the safety of their village, they knelt there to honor the gods and to seek their protection in the face of the fiendish elements and the impending catastrophe. The angry flood rushing down upon them from behind suddenly divided, parting to the right and left. The village was left unharmed.

Not only was the village saved, but when the storm abated the people were able to fish out of the tide a good deal of valuable salvage, empty boxes and chests of clothing, stools and tables, and even coffins, both empty and occupied.

Thereafter on the seventh of every seventh moon when the officers of the Plain White Banner Garrison worshipped the Three Gods at their West Gate, the people also remembered with gratitude the heroism of their garrison commander and his captains who knelt in the rain in spite of great personal danger to secure the protection of the Three Gods for their village against the fury of the Dragon King. This custom was continued until the establishment of the Republic and the resulting impoverishment of the Manchu Bannermen.

THE EVENTS OF 1898 AND 1900

The year 1898 marks two important developments in Chinese history. One of them was the cession of several ports on the coast of China to foreign powers. It was in connection with this cession that Prince Henry of Prussia visited Peking and was received by both the Empress Dowager and the Emperor at the New Summer Palace. Prince Henry himself wrote of this visit:

I was given to understand that an audience of this kind was quite out of the common, and that no European had, in the past, ever stood before a Chinese Empress so long as Chinese history existed, but that it had been Her Majesty's particular wish to receive me on this occasion, probably much against the wishes of her advisers, though perhaps her object was to prove that she was the sovereign in power.

The audience took place on the 15th of May, 1898, at the Summer Palace, Wen Shau-Shan, on which occasion all the pomp of a Chinese ruler was displayed; the audience with the Emperor took place after I had been to see the Empress.²⁷

The other noteworthy event of the year 1898 was the *coup d'état* at the close of the "Hundred Days of Reform" during which the Empress Dowager seems to have granted the Emperor a free hand. From June 20 to September 16, he issued thirty-eight important reform decrees which struck at one abuse after another and removed high officials from office until the enemies of the reform program petitioned the Empress Dowager to resume the regency. One of the group of reformers who was influencing the Emperor, had compared the Empress Dowager to the concubine whose evil deeds had been largely responsible for the downfall of the Shang Dynasty in 1122 B.C., and her life at the Summer Palace with the orgies of that infamous woman in her palace by the "Lake of Wine."²⁸ The Emperor's chief adviser, K'ang Yu Wei, objected to the waste of millions of government funds annually for the upkeep of her elaborate establishment at the Summer Palace, and advised him to put an end to her authority by seizing her person and confining her on an island in the Lake Palace in Peking. But the plan became known to the Empress Dowager, who demanded the arrest of the reformer. It was from the New Summer Palace while the Empress Dowager was enjoying a picnic on the K'un Ming Lake, that the Emperor sent his confidential eunuch with a warning to K'ang Yu Wei to leave Peking. It was also at the Wan Shou Shan that Yuan Shih K'ai assured the Emperor of his devotion and was commissioned with the task of army reform so that the Emperor would be assured of loyal troops for carrying out his plan to place the Empress Dowager under guard. However, when Yuan Shih K'ai went to Tientsin on September 20th, he betrayed the Emperor's plans to the devoted follower of the Empress Dowager, Jung Lu, whom he was to have put to death. Jung Lu departed hurriedly for Peking and at the Summer Palace informed Tz'u Hsi. The Grand Council and leaders of the conservative party were quickly assembled. The Empress Dowager was implored again to assume the regency. Jung Lu's troops replaced the guards of the Imperial City where the Emperor had gone to take charge of the

²⁷Bland and Backhouse, *China under the Empress Dowager*, 1921 ed., pp. v-vii.

²⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 154-55.

plans against his aunt, and early on the morning of September 21st, the Emperor was seized and placed in confinement while the Empress Dowager issued in his name a decree imploring her once more to assume the administration of the government.²⁹ Thus began the third regency of that remarkable ruler.

The greatest mistake of all her long career was her encouragement of the Boxers in 1900. The whole summer palace region felt the effects of the convulsion. At several of the temples the red-turbaned Boxers performed their ceremonies, and persons suspected of being Christians were killed. The deer escaped from the Hsiang Shan Park. The new summer residence of the British minister on the hillside south of the Hsiang Shan was burned. Some of the troops of the Yuan Ming Yuan Eight Banners took part in the attacks on the legation quarter and on the Catholic Cathedral, the Pei T'ang, in Peking. The foreign troops entered the city and relieved the long siege of the legations in the afternoon of August 14th.

At eight o'clock the next morning the guards at the New Summer Palace had difficulty in recognizing the occupants of certain common carts which were driven into a side gate. In one was the Empress Dowager, disguised in the common blue cloth garments of a peasant, with her hair done in the Chinese fashion, for the first time in her life. The heir-apparent was riding outside on the shaft of the cart. In the other cart rode the Emperor, also in disguise, with another prince riding on the shaft. Tea was served to the party. The Empress Dowager ordered that all curios, valuables, and ornaments were to be packed at once and sent to Jehol. Some princes and high officials joined the imperial party, and the flight toward Nan K'ou Pass and Shansi and Shensi Provinces was resumed. Thus for a second time Tz'u Hsi fled from the capital, leaving these garden palaces at the mercy of the western barbarians.³⁰ After the arrival of the allied troops, some of whom were stationed at the New Summer Palace, persons accused of being Boxers were sometimes put to death.³¹ There was also considerable looting by the foreign troops at the Summer Palace as there was in Peking. The Empress Dowager was angry at the report that her throne had been plunged into the lake and that the soldiers had made "lewd and ribald drawings and writings" even on the walls of her bedroom.³² But at least they did not burn the palace buildings as they had in 1860.

²⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 119-44; Headland, *Court Life in China*, pp. 131-48; Morse, *International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, vol. iii, pp. 128-46.

³⁰Bland and Backhouse, *China under the Empress Dowager*, pp. 300-301, or in 1921 ed., pp. 210-13.

³¹From statements by Huang Ju Lan and Ts'un Feng of the Blue Banner Garrison.

³²Bland and Backhouse, *China under the Empress Dowager*, p. 356.

Boxers and other looters broke into the Yuan Ming Yuan, which up to this time had been kept closed and guarded, and where the hills were still covered with tall trees. They pulled down the buildings which had been repaired after the fires of 1860, and carried off the timber. After that large sections of the Yuan Ming Yuan were rented out to farmers who tilled the level places, cleared off the groves, and harvested the huge crop of reeds which grew in the palace lakes. Eunuchs were left in charge of the grounds, which continued to be the property of the ex-emperor Hsuan T'ung even after the establishment of the Republic.³³

LIFE IN THE I HO YUAN AFTER 1900

After the signing of the Protocol of September 7, 1901, the Empress Dowager prepared to return from Hsi An Fu and arrived at Peking by train in January, 1902. In the following summers the old life at the New Summer Palace was resumed in all its splendor. On a few occasions the ladies and gentlemen of the foreign legations were entertained within its precincts, for Tz'u Hsi had adopted a different attitude toward the foreign powers and the idea of reform after the failure of the Boxers.

The two most complete accounts of the life in the New Summer Palace were written by the Princess Der Ling and Miss Carl. The princess, whose father, a Manchu, was the Chinese minister in Paris, whose mother was French, and who later married an American husband, was for two years, 1903-1905, a lady-in-waiting to the Empress Dowager. For her first meeting with the old Empress Dowager she had to leave her home in Peking at three o'clock in the morning in a sedan chair sent from the palace and escorted by officers on horseback. She waited for two hours and a half in rooms furnished with exquisitely carved woodwork, with tables and walls covered with blue satin, and with fourteen clocks, before she was taken to see the great Tz'u Hsi.

After walking through three courtyards very similar to those we had previously passed through, we came to a magnificent building just one mass of exquisite carving. Large lanterns made of buffalo horn hung all over the veranda covered with red silk from which red silk tassels were hanging and from each of these tassels was suspended a beautiful piece of jade.

We went into this hall immediately and saw an old lady dressed in a beautiful yellow satin gown embroidered all over with pink peonies, and wearing the same kind of headdress with flowers on each side made of pearls and jade, a pearl tassel on the left side and a beautiful phoenix in the center made of purest jade. Over her gown she wore a cape, the most magnificent and costly thing I ever saw. The cape was made of about three thousand five hundred pearls the size of a canary bird's egg, all exactly alike in color and perfectly round. It was made on the fish net pattern and had a fringe of jade

³³From many statements made to the writer by the eunuchs in the Yuan Ming Yuan.

pendants and was joined with two pure jade clasps.³⁴ In addition Her Majesty wore two pairs of pearl bracelets, one pair of jade bracelets, several jade rings and on her third and little fingers of her right hand she wore gold finger nail protectors about three inches long, and on the left hand two finger nail protectors made of jade and about the same length. Her shoes were trimmed with small tassels made of pearls and embroidered with tiny pieces of colored jade.

Her Majesty stood up when she saw us and shook hands with us. She had a most fascinating smile. . . .

While we were talking to her we saw a gentleman standing at a little distance and after a while she said, 'Let me introduce you to the Emperor Kuang Hsü, but you must call him Wan Sway Yeh (Master of 10,000 years) and call me Lao Tsu Tsung (the Great Ancestor).' His Majesty shyly shook hands with us. He was a man about five feet, seven inches in height, very thin, but with very strong features; high nose and forehead, large, brilliant black eyes, strong mouth, very white, even teeth; altogether good looking. I noticed he had a very sad look, although he was smiling all the time we were there.

At this juncture the head eunuch came, knelt down on the marble floor and announced that Her Majesty's chair was ready and she asked us to go with her to the Audience Hall, distant about two minutes walk, where she was going to receive the heads of the different Boards. It was a beautiful day and her open chair was waiting. This chair is carried by eight eunuchs all dressed in official robes, a most unusual sight. The head eunuch walked on her left side and the second eunuch on her right side, each with a steady hand on the chair pole. Four eunuchs of the fifth rank in front and twelve eunuchs of the sixth rank walked behind. Each eunuch carried something in his hand, such as Her Majesty's clothes, shoes, handkerchiefs, combs, brushes, powder boxes, looking glasses of different sizes, perfumes, pins, black and red ink, yellow paper, cigarettes, water pipes, and the last one carried her yellow satin-covered stool. Besides this there were two amahs (old women servants) and four servant girls all carrying something. This procession was most interesting to see and made one think it a lady's dressing room on legs. The Emperor walked on Her Majesty's right and the Young Empress on the left, as did also the Court Ladies.³⁵

Of the Empress's meals Princess Der Ling says:

It seems that it was a habit of Her Majesty to take her meals wherever she happened to be, so that there was no particular dining room. There were about one hundred and fifty kinds of food for I counted them.³⁶ Sometimes they went on picnics by boat across the lake, sometimes to the pavilions on the hill, and on one day, in memory of the hardships of the army, at the time of the founding of the Manchu Dynasty, when they had had only leaves of

³⁴This famous cape is said to have been confiscated from the estate of Ho Shen. Backhouse and Bland, *Annals*, p. 364. It is represented in a photograph of the Empress Dowager and in Miss Carl's painting of her. Bland and Backhouse, *China under the Empress Dowager*, 1921 ed., pp. 256, 302 and Morse, *International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, vol. ii, frontispiece.

³⁵Der Ling, *Two Years in the Forbidden City*, pp. 15-21.

³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 38.

trees to eat, the court ate no meat but "only rice wrapped in lettuce leaves." Chopsticks were also discarded, and the food was conveyed to the mouth by the hands alone.³⁷

One of the most interesting customs which she describes was the freeing of the birds.

Each year on her birthday Her Majesty did a very peculiar thing. She would buy 10,000 birds with her own money, from her private purse and set them free. The hour selected was four o'clock in the afternoon. Her Majesty took the whole court with her to the top of the hill, where there was a temple. First she burned sandal wood and offered up prayers to the gods, then the eunuchs, each with a cage of birds, knelt in front of Her Majesty and she opened each cage one after another and watched the birds fly away, and prayed to the gods that these birds should not be caught again.

But the crafty eunuchs had some parrots trained not to fly away when they were loosed, whereupon they congratulated Her Majesty that the birds understood her kindness and preferred to stay.

The huge joke is this; that while Her Majesty is letting the birds free, there are a few eunuchs waiting at the rear of the hill to capture them and sell them again, and so no matter how Her Majesty prays for their freedom, they will be caught at once.³⁸

Miss Katherine A. Carl, an American artist, was invited to the New Summer Palace at the suggestion of the wife of the American Minister, Mrs. Conger, to paint the portrait of the Empress Dowager. One of her pictures, which was exhibited at the St. Louis Exposition, has been mentioned above.³⁹ She had to paint the portrait with the same amount of light on both sides of the face, in order to avoid making one side of the face appear blacker than the other, which would have been a serious fault in Chinese eyes. One of the delights of this garden palace was the view from the hill, which Miss Carl describes:

From the highest elevations in the grounds we could see the road from Peking. Sometimes Her Majesty and the ladies would watch from some of the summer houses, the carts and chairs and vehicles as they passed along. Several times we saw the Emperor and his suite returning from some ceremony in Peking, over the road cleared for his passage. Her Majesty would be the first to descry him, and she would say, "The Emperor comes." Then the Empress and Ladies would all look, for it was not against the proprieties for them to look at His Majesty from such a distance. These views of the high road from the eminences of the Summer Palace were all Her Majesty and the young Empress ever saw of the outside world and common humanity; for neither at the Winter nor Sea Palaces could they get any views from a distance, nor was there any opportunity of seeing beyond the walls.⁴⁰

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 274.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 297.

³⁹See footnote 34 on opposite page.

⁴⁰Carl, *With the Empress Dowager*, p. 154.

The most brilliant scene which Miss Carl describes was the Festival of the Harvest Moon. In the afternoon plays and tableaux had been enacted in the theater. In the evening occurred the procession with the Emperor and Empress Dowager and ladies in full dress, as usual for a ceremony, accompanied by hundreds of eunuchs bearing lanterns. "It wound, in and out, through the verandas, corridors, and paths of the garden, like some great glowworm, until it came to the marble terrace beneath the Temple of the Ten Thousand Buddhas, on the great terrace over the lake." Here were erected an altar, on which were placed floral tributes, and a *pailou* made of chrysanthemums. After Their Majesties, and then the ladies, had made their bows and prostrations and placed their offerings on the altar, the eunuchs chanted a poem and the floral offerings were devoted to the flames to which wine and incense were added.

It was a wonderfully picturesque sight—the brilliant circle of splendidly gowned Ladies with the Emperor and Empress Dowager in their midst, around the flaming censer, whose leaping flames glinted and glowed upon the jewels and gold embroidery of their costumes. The lantern bearing eunuchs formed a faintly glowing circle around this shining censer; and over the whole fantastic picture the brilliant Harvest Moon shone with unwonted splendor, as if to show itself worthy of the obeisances it had just received from this brilliant group.

The whole palace fleet lay moored beneath the marble terrace. The eunuchs holding aloft their gleaming lanterns, stood along the terrace and knelt on the steps leading into the water, while their Majesties descended them. On two of the boats, at either side of the Imperial barge, the eunuchs held their lanterns to form the characters "Peace" and "Prosperity." The waters of the lake were now glowing with the reflections of the myriad lanterns and dancing under their many colored lights.⁴¹

SINCE THE DEATH OF THE GREAT EMPRESS DOWAGER

The summer of 1908, the last year of her life, the Empress Dowager spent as usual at the New Summer Palace. When she departed for Peking on October 20th by boat along the canal it was observed that she gazed longingly back at the walls and distant hills of her favorite residence and expressed her fears that the failing health of the Emperor would prevent her return for a long time.⁴² This was the last time any emperor has lived at the New Summer Palace. Kuang Hsü died on November 14th and the Empress Dowager the next day, leaving the throne to the "boy emperor," Hsuan T'ung. The New Summer Palace was closed. On January 18th, 1909, the Prince Regent, father of the

⁴¹*Ibid.*, p. 158 ff.

⁴²Bland and Backhouse, *China under the Empress Dowager*, 1921 ed., pp. 279-80.

Emperor, decreed that since the new Empress Dowager and the infant Emperor would not go there to live, the buildings should be sealed up, the steamboats and electric light plant turned over to the officers in charge of the I Ho Yuan to be cared for and guarded, and the operating expenses should stop. Instead of 150,000 taels which had been available for annual repairs and new buildings, thereafter only 50,000 should be used.⁴³



THE BRIDGE OF EMBROIDERED RIPPLES

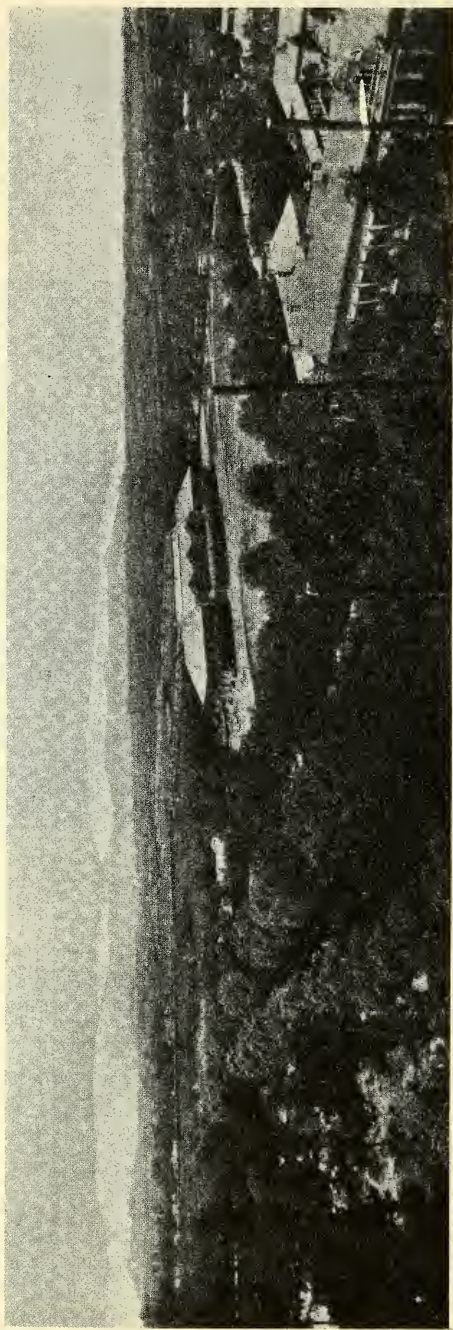
Under this bridge the Empress's barge passed out of the K'un Ming Lake into the canal leading toward Peking

After the Ch'ing Dynasty was overthrown it was generally believed that the ex-emperor and his court would be removed from the Forbidden City to the New Summer Palace.⁴⁴ The wall around the grounds was repaired and its height increased by a few feet. But apparently President Yuan Shih K'ai and his successors wanted to keep the ex-emperor more closely under surveillance than could be done at the garden palace outside the city, for the court never came. Admission to the grounds is now possible by the payment of a fair gate fee.

The pensions of the Manchu troops at the Yuan Ming Yuan and at the Western Hills gradually diminished after the coming of the Republic,

⁴³*Tsung Kuan Nei Wu Fu Hsien Hsing Tse Li*, I Ho Yuan, pp. 37, 64.

⁴⁴One of the conditions under which the Emperor agreed to the establishment of a republic in 1912 was that the Emperor should later move to the I Ho Yuan. Quoted by MacNair, *Modern Chinese History*, p. 724.

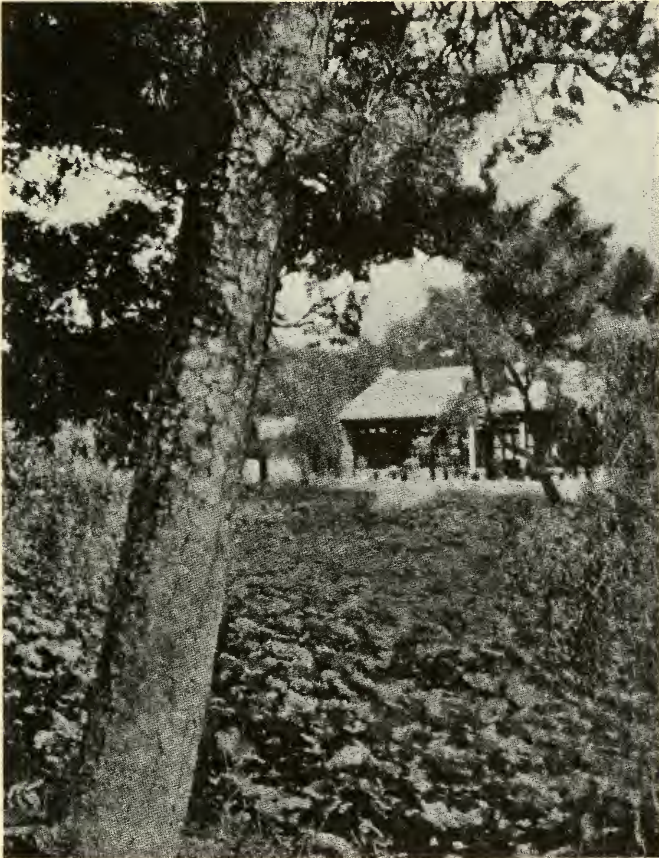


TSING HUA UNIVERSITY, THE YUAN MING YUAN, AND THE WESTERN HILLS

This photograph was taken from the dome of the Auditorium, Tsing Hua University, before completion. Some poles of the scaffolding show in the immediate foreground. The building in the lower right hand corner is the Middle School. The Roosevelt Memorial Gymnasium stands near the middle of the picture, facing on the athletic field. Directly behind it runs the north wall of the university. Beyond this wall and on a line with the top of the gymnasium roof is the southeast corner of the wall of the Old Summer Palace. The northeast corner of this wall is marked by a low gray hill at the very edge of the picture. The conical hill in the distant range just above the gymnasium is the Wang Er Shan. The village among the trees at the left side of the picture is Shui Mo Ts'un. In the distance on the left are the Wan Shou Shan, and, more faintly, the Jade Fountain Hill and the Western Hills beyond. (The sky was darkened by retouching the photograph to bring out the sky-line of the Western Hills.)

and the garrison villages of these men, who had grown old depending alone on their skill in the use of the bow, fell into ruins, though some of their descendants still live in their old dilapidated dwellings.

The summer palace region has also felt the impact of the West in the establishment of several very modern institutions. In 1909 the grounds of

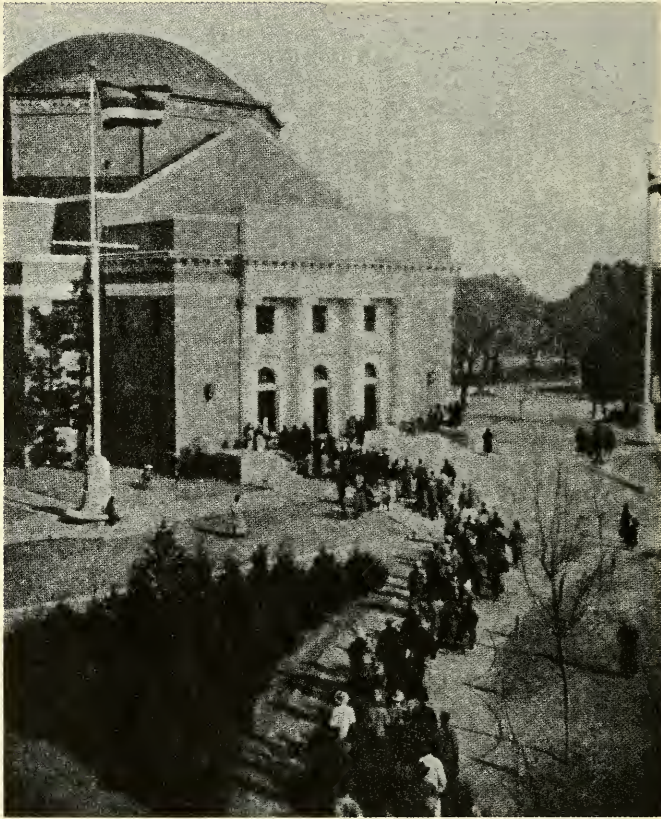


THE LOTUS POND AND ONE OF THE RESTORED BUILDINGS OF THE
PRINCE'S PALACE, TSING HUA UNIVERSITY

the old Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan were leveled to provide a drill ground for the Imperial Guard, Chin Wei Chun. These troops, trained in modern methods, were quartered in new garrisons built at the site of the old cavalry parade ground not far from the front gate of the New Summer Palace.

In 1911 the Imperial Tsing Hua College, now Tsing Hua University,

opened its doors in the grounds of the former country seat of Prince Tun, whose son, Prince Tuan, had been the father of the heir apparent and patron of the Boxer party at the court of Tz'u Hsi. This institution was founded with the remitted portion of the American share of the Boxer Indemnity, to prepare specially chosen Chinese students to enter American



THE AUDITORIUM AT TSING HUA UNIVERSITY

universities. It is bringing to China many of the very ideas which Prince Tuan and the Boxers hated most.

Close to the walls of Tsing Hua University and within sight of the Yuan Ming Yuan and the other nearby palaces run the trains on the Peking-Sui-Yuan Railway, begun in 1905. A flying-field now occupies the former military school for Manchu officers, and airplanes over the old palace ruins are a common sight.

In 1919 the macadam road, which had previously taken the place of

the old road of granite blocks as far as the New Summer Palace, was extended to the Western Hills, and a branch was later built to the T'ang Shan hot springs farther north. This makes the groves and temples at the hills easily accessible for automobiles and rikishas.

At the Hsiang Shan an orphanage and trade schools to care for famine children were built under the direction of Hsiung Hsi Ling, a former premier. A hotel on the site of the most ancient monastery, a hospital on that of the Pan Shen Lama, and numerous summer cottages make the delights of this former deer park of the Emperor available for many.



HAULING BUILDING MATERIALS FROM THE YUAN MING YUAN
FOR SALE IN PEKING

In 1926 Yenching University opened some of its beautiful new buildings which exhibit a very successful adaptation of Chinese palace architecture to the needs of a modern university. These buildings occupy the site of the old Ladle Garden, later called Mo Er Ken Yuan. Several other gardens nearby are still the property of the families of princes who once dwelt here to be near the residence of the Emperor.

A splendid grove of old pines and cedars which had been planted by Ch'ien Lung just north of the Wan Shou Shan was cut down to be sold for firewood by the officers and soldiers of the notorious General Chang Tsung Ch'ang in the spring of 1926. They said they needed the money to buy food, having marched all the way from Tsinanfu to Peking in

their campaign against General Feng Yü-Hsiang without a commissary department.

A pathetic protest in the old heroic manner against the radical ideas of modern China, which had brought confusion, disunion, and communism in place of loyalty to the Ch'ing Dynasty, was the suicide of Wang Kuo Wei in the New Summer Palace in the spring of 1927. He had been a scholar of recognized ability, an Imperial Tutor, and, though he was at last a professor of history in Tsing Hua University, he still wore his queue, the symbol of Manchu sovereignty. When he heard the reports of the fall of Nanking to the radical Nationalists and their continued advance northwards, and the disquieting rumors of the expected Communist uprising in Peking, and could see no hope for the fine old ideals of China's past, he drowned himself in the K'un Ming Lake in the palace grounds where the dynasty to which he was so loyal had dwelt in splendor, but where they were likely never to rule again.

For years the Yuan Ming Yuan was used as a sort of quarry for ornamental rocks, once for the rebuilding of the New Summer Palace, and more recently for sale in Peking. When Wang Huai Ch'ing was in command of the Peking gendarmerie and should have protected the Yuan Ming Yuan as the property of the ex-emperor, he used such materials as he needed to build himself a garden at the Fan Lake and allowed certain carters in the neighborhood to haul away large quantities of both brick and stone. Many fine masonry ruins were thus pulled down, especially those of the Ancestral Shrine, the She Wei Ch'eng, the Fang Hu Sheng Ching, the high carved brick wall on the north and west sides of the Yuan Ming Yuan, and the foreign buildings. A few of the finest pieces of carved marble from the foreign buildings are being preserved in the Garden of Prince Tsai T'ao, just south of the Yuan Ming Yuan, and some from the Ancestral Shrine are at Yenching University.

The Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan has almost entirely disappeared. The Yuan Ming Yuan is fast reverting to farming land and pools for reeds. The Jade Fountain Park is being kept without much change as it was after the fires of 1860. The Hsiang Shan is being put to various good uses and its beauties are being retained. Only the New Summer Palace represents the magnificence of the departed empire, and it is to be hoped that this may be maintained, not only as an historical and cultural monument, but also for the enjoyment of the people of the Chinese Republic.

APPENDIX I

CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR THE MOST IMPORTANT NAMES

In general the Wade system of romanization has been followed. The less important names of places, persons, and books are omitted.

Ancestral Shrine, *see* An Yu Kung

An Yu Kung, Ancestral Shrine, in Seventeenth of "Forty Pictures"

安 佑 宮

(1) Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan, Garden of Long Spring adjacent to Yuan Ming Yuan, called in text Garden of Long Spring, built by Ch'ien Lung

長 春 園

(2) Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan, Garden of Joyful Springtime, written and pronounced differently from name above; called in text Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan, built by K'ang Hsi

暢 春 園

Ch'eng Hsin Yuan, early garden at Jade Fountain

澄 心 園

Cheng Ta Kuang Ming Tien, Main Audience Hall

正大光明殿

Ch'i Ch'un Yuan, garden adjacent to Yuan Ming Yuan

綺 春 園

Ch'i Fu T'ung Chih, a gazetteer

畿輔通志

Chia Ch'ing, Emperor, 1796-1820

嘉 慶

Chien Jui Garrisons

健 銳 營

Ch'ien Lung, Emperor, 1735-1796

乾 隆

Chin Shan, Golden Hill

金 山

Ch'in Cheng Ch'in Hsien, Second of "Forty Pictures"

勤政親賢

Ch'in Cheng Tien, Hall of Diligent Government

勤 政 殿

Ch'in Shih Huang Ti, Emperor, 221-210 B.C.

秦始皇帝

Ch'in Ting Ta Ch'ing Hui Tien Shih Li, Imperial Regulations of Ch'ing Dynasty

欽定大清會典事例

Ching I Yuan, garden at Hsiang Shan

靜 宜 園

Ching Ming Yuan, garden at Jade Fountain

靜 明 園

Ch'ing Dynasty, 1644-1912

清 朝

Ch'ing I Yuan, garden at Wan Shou Shan

清 漪 園

Ch'ing Lung Ch'iao, Green Dragon Bridge, near Wan Shou Shan

青 龍 橋

Ch'ing Tai T'ung Shih, a history

清代通史

Chiu Chou, Nine Islands (literally continents) shown in Third to Eleventh of "Forty Pictures"

九 州

Chiu Chou Ch'ing Yen, Third of "Forty Pictures"

九州清晏

Chou Dynasty, 1122-1255 B.C.

周 朝

Chu T'ing, Bamboo Pavilion, Engraving Number Nine

竹 亭

Drill Field, *see* Shan Kao Shui Ch'ang

En Mu Ssu, temple to Ch'ien Lung's mother

恩 慕 寺

En Yu Ssu, temple to Emperor K'ang Hsi

恩 佑 寺

Fang Hu Sheng Ching, Twenty-ninth of "Forty Pictures"

方 壺 勝 境

Fang Wai Kuan, Engraving Number Eight

方 外 觀

"Forty Pictures," forty woodcuts in *Yü Chih Yuan Ming Yuan Ssu Shih Ching Shih*, q.v.

Fu Hai, Happy Sea, shown in Thirtieth to Thirty-seventh of "Forty Pictures"

福 海

Fu Yuan Men, Happy Garden Gate, shown in Fortieth of "Forty Pictures" in woodcut, but not in painting

福 園 門

Garden of Joyful Springtime, *see* second Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan

Garden of Long Spring, *see* first Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan

Great Palace Gate

大 宮 門

Green Dragon Bridge, *see* Ch'ing Lung Ch'iao

Hai Tien, town

海 甸

Hai Yen T'ang, building shown in Engravings Numbers Ten to Thirteen

海 晏 堂

Han Shan, Cold Hill

寒 山

Happy Sea, *see* Fu Hai

Ho Shen, or Ho Chung T'ang, prime minister

和 坤

Hsi Chih Men, gate of Peking

西 直 門

Hsi Hua Yuan, West Flower Garden

西 花 園

Hsi Yuan, parade ground

西 苑

Hsiang Shan, Fragrant Mountain, park

香 山

Hsieh Ch'i Ch'ü, building shown in Engravings Numbers One and Two

諧 奇 趣

Hsien Fa Shan, Hsien Fa Hill, shown in Engravings Numbers Seventeen to Nineteen

線 法 山

Hsien Feng, Emperor, 1850-1861

咸 豐

Hsiu I Ch'iao, Bridge of the Embroidered Ripples

繡 漪 橋

Hsuan T'ung, Emperor, 1908-1912

宣 統

Hua Yuan, Flower Garden, shown in Engravings Numbers Four and Five, The Maze

花 園

Hsü Shui Lou, building shown in Engraving Number Three

蓄 水 樓

Hu Tung Hsien Fa T'u, Hsien Fa Picture East of the Lake, shown in Engraving Number Twenty

湖東線法畫

Huang Ju Lan, Manchu, Chinese teacher

黃汝嵐

Hui Shan Yuan, a garden

惠山園

Hung Ch'iao, a bridge

紅橋

I Ho Yuan, New Summer Palace

頤和園

Imperial Poems, see Yü Chih Shih

Jade Fountain Hill, *see* Yü Ch'uan Shan

玉泉山

Jade Peak Pagoda, *see* Yü Feng T'a

Jar Hill, *see* Weng Shan

Jehol

熱河

Jih Hsia Chiu Wen K'ao, set of 48 volumes on Peking and neighborhood

日下舊聞考

Ju I Kuan, Sceptre Lodge, studio in Yuan Ming Yuan

如意館

Jung Hua, Manchu military officer

榮華

K'ang Hsi, Emperor, 1661-1722

康熙

Ku Chin T'u Shu Chi Ch'eng, encyclopedia

古今圖書集成

Kuan Shui Fa, throne shown in Engraving Number Sixteen

灌 水 法

Kuang Hsü, Emperor, 1874-1908

光 緒

Kublai Khan, Emperor, 1260-1294

忽 必 烈

K'un Ming Hu, K'un Ming Lake

昆 明 湖

Lang Shih Ning, Chinese name of Castiglione

郎 世 寧

Ladle Garden, *see* Shao Yuan

勺 園

Li Wei, Marquis

李 偉

Lu Tou Ch'iao, Stove Peck Bridge

爐 斗 橋

Main Audience Hall, *cf.* Cheng Ta Kuang Ming Tien

Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644

明 朝

Mo Er Ken Yuan, a garden

墨爾根園

Nei Ssu, a bureau

內 司

New Summer Palace, *see* I Ho Yuan

Nine Islands, *see* Chiu Chou

Old Summer Palace, a name for Yuan Ming Yuan, q.v.

Pa Li Ch'iao, Eight Li Bridge, battlefield

八 里 橋

Pa Ta Ch'u, Eight Great Places, a group of temples

八 大 處

Pai Fu, an old lake

白 浮

Palace School, at Tung T'ien Shen Ch'u, q.v.

Pao I Garrison

包衣三旗營

Pi Yün Ssu, Green Cloud Temple

碧 雲 寺

Plain Blue Banner Garrison

正藍旗營

Plain White Banner Garrison

正白旗營

Shan Kao Shui Ch'ang, drill field shown in Fifteenth of "Forty Pictures"

山高水長

Shang Tu, Mongol capital in Mongolia

上 都

Shao Yuan, Ladle Garden

勺 園

She Wei Ch'eng, Wall of Sravasti, shown in Thirty-eighth of "Forty Pictures"

舍 衛 城

Shen Yuan, artist

沈 源

Shih Sheng Ssu, Temple of True Victory

實 勝 寺

Shih Wei Ying, Imperial Body Guard Garrison

侍 衛 營

Shun Chih, Emperor, 1643-1661

順 治

Shun T'ien Fu Chih, gazetteer

順天府志

South Hunting Park, Nan Hai Tzu

南 海 子

Ssu K'u Ch'uan Shu, Complete Books of the Four Treasuries

四庫全書

Sun Yu, artist

孫 祐

Swastika building, *see* Wan Fang An Ho

Ta Ch'ing Hui Tien, *see* *Ch'in Ting Ta Ch'ing Hui Tien Shih Li*

Ta Pao En Yen Shou Ssu, temple

大報恩延壽寺

Ta Shui Fa, Great Fountains, shown in Engraving Number Fifteen

大 水 法

Tao Kuang, Emperor, 1820-1850

道 光

T'ang Shan, hot springs and hill

湯山 湯泉

Te Sheng Men, gate of Peking

德 勝 門

Tiger Pit, Hu Ch'eng

虎 城

Tsao Yuan, palace group and gate

藻 園

Tsing Hua College

清華學校

Ts'un Feng, Manchu official

存 峯

T'ung Chih, Emperor, 1861-1874

同 治

T'ung Chou, city east of Peking

通 州

Tung T'ien Shen Ch'u, Fortieth of "Forty Pictures"

洞天深處

Tz'u An, Empress Dowager

慈 安

Tz'u Hsi, the Great Empress Dowager

慈 禧

Wai Huo Ch'i Ying, Outside Firearms Garrison

外火器營

Wan Ch'uan Chuang, Village of Myriad Springs

萬 泉 庄

Wan Fang An Ho, Thirteenth of "Forty Pictures," Swastika building

萬 方 安 和

Wan Li, Ming Emperor, 1572-1620

萬 歷

Wan Shou Shan, Hill of Imperial Longevity

萬 壽 山

Wan Shou Shan Ming Sheng Ho Shih Lu, guidebook

萬壽山名勝覈實錄

Wan Shou Sheng Tien, book of pictures and record of K'ang Hsi's birthday

萬壽盛典

Wan Shou Ssu, Temple of Imperial Longevity

萬壽寺

Wang Er Shan, a mountain

望兒山

Weng Shan, Jar Hill, old name for Wan Shou Shan

甕山

Wen Yuan Ko, Library in Yuan Ming Yuan

文源閣

Wo Fo Ssu, Temple of the Sleeping Buddha

臥佛寺

Wu T'a Ssu, Five Pagoda Temple

五塔寺

Yang Ch'iao Lung, Bird Cage, shown in Engravings Numbers Six and Seven

養雀籠

Yenching University, Peking (Christian) University

燕京大學

Yü Chih Shih, imperial poems

御製詩

Yü Chih Yuan Ming Yuan Ssu Shih Ching Shih, imperial poems containing "Forty Pictures"

御製圓明園四十景詩

Yü Ch'uan Shan, Jade Fountain Hill

玉泉山

Yü Feng T'a, Jade Peak Pagoda

玉 峯 塔

Yü Tai Ch'iao, Jade Girdle Bridge

玉 帶 橋

Yuan Dynasty, 1260-1368

元 朝

Yuan Ming Yuan, the old summer palace

圓 明 園

Yuan Ming Yuan Ssu Shih Ching Shih, see Yü Chih Yuan Ming Yuan Ssu Shih Ching Shih

Yuan Ming Yuan Tse Li, a manuscript

圓明園則例

Yuan Ying Kuan, View of Distant Seas, Engraving Number Fourteen

遠 瀛 觀

Yueh Wu Lou, military review tower

閱 武 樓

Yung Cheng, Emperor, 1722-1735

雍 正

APPENDIX II

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

REMAINS

Temples, tombs, canals, and walls dating from the Yuan and Ming and earlier dynasties are found both within and near the summer palaces. But the earliest actual palace buildings, the remains of which can be identified, date from the reign of K'ang Hsi. These are at the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan, and the Jade Fountain. The ruins of parts of the Yuan Ming Yuan, the Eight Banner Garrisons of the Yuan Ming Yuan Guards, and some temples remain from the reign of Yung Cheng. Practically all the palaces, temples, garrisons, and roads were either built or repaired in the reign of Ch'ien Lung, so that his monuments seem to be more numerous than those of all the others together. Inscribed marble tablets put up to record important building operations are especially numerous for the reigns of K'ang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung. There have been fewer repairs and new buildings since those reigns.

TRADITIONS

It is often difficult to distinguish genuine oral tradition from tales based on dramas and books of stories. Nevertheless, several such tales have been narrated in the text as evidence of the impression made by the events on the people as well as illustrations of customs and habits. But for the most recent period, many statements by men still living, who saw the events of 1860 and 1900 and since, who served the imperial family, or who heard their fathers and neighbors tell their experiences, have been used by the writer. A few of the most important of these sources are as follows:

1. Ts'un Feng, an officer of the Plain Blue Banner Garrison of the Yuan Ming Yuan Guards, is the only man in his village of 2000 people who still reads Manchu as well as Chinese. He was a member of the forces under Prince Tuan which attacked the Catholic cathedral in Peking in 1900, and has been a personal friend of the writer since about 1911.

2. Jung Hua, an older cousin of Ts'un Feng, and a Manchu military officer who took part in escorting the British prisoners from T'ung Chou to Peking and also went to Jehol to serve the Emperor in 1860. Later he received training under British and French cavalry officers in Tientsin and was in command of a cavalry regiment of 500 men. He died, over ninety years of age, in 1926.

3. Huang Ju Lan, son of Jung Hua, for many years assisted the writer for about an hour a day in the study of the Chinese language, history, and customs, and in gathering material on the summer palaces.

4. An old man, named Lu, who lived in a hut at the east end of the Hai Yen T'ang, the largest of the foreign buildings at the Yuan Ming Yuan, cultivated some small pieces of ground, and often guided visitors to the ruins. He says he was twelve *sui*, or ten or eleven years of age, and employed there as a helper to sweep the walks and pull the weeds, when the palace was destroyed in 1860.

5. Wen Ch'i Ju, a very well informed official in the police *yamen* at Hai Tien, who made for the writer a map of the Ch'ang Ch'un Yuan and wrote out an explanation of many points, as he remembered them.

6. A police officer, named Yuan, from the Tu Ssu Yamen at Kua Chia Tun, opposite the entrance to the old Yuan Ming Yuan, brought to the writer a memorandum mentioning some important facts in the history and traditions of the Yuan Ming Yuan which had been written for him by a petty officer in the Yuan Ming Yuan office. This has been referred to in the text as Yuan's memorandum.

7. Two eunuchs, named Ho and Tung, were still living at the Yuan Ming Yuan to look after the Emperor's interests there in 1919. They told the writer of the places rebuilt after 1860 and destroyed again in 1900.

The writer has also questioned numerous other persons who knew of the palaces and their neighborhood from Prince Tsai T'ao, uncle of the Emperor, to the descendants of the Tibetan prisoners at their village in the Western Hills.

MANUSCRIPTS

The most interesting and valuable manuscript which the writer has found on the Yuan Ming Yuan is an old map which was in the possession of a Manchu official, named Pai, who lived in Hai Tien. It was drawn on a scale of about 1 to 1300, and shows every gate and wall, every road and bridge, every hill, rockery, canal, and lake, and in fact every *chien*, or room, in every building in the whole grounds. It was carefully preserved in the hope that it might some day be of enormous value, if the old palace should ever be rebuilt. The old gentleman who had it offered to sell it for \$3000, but would accept \$2000 for the original or make a copy for \$1000. He refused to allow it to be copied, photographed, or studied otherwise. At last, however, after the writer had given up all hope of using this treasure, the old man made a tracing of it which he sold for only \$15. After his death the writer was able to buy the original map at the same figure.

This map the writer calls the Official Map because it is probably only for official purposes that such a detailed and accurate map could be made. The Manchu official who had it was a draftsman connected with the palace and it seems likely that he obtained the map from official archives or possibly from a contractor. The map in its lettering and plans corresponds closely to the descriptions of the buildings in the *Jih Hsia*, to the views shown in the "Forty Pictures," to the Twenty Engravings of the foreign buildings, and to the present ruins. There are only a few discrepancies and some of these may be explained by changes made in the course of time. The map is evidently later than the "Forty Pictures." In more than one place an extra piece of paper showing a different plan has been pasted over a part of the map, apparently showing alterations of the original buildings, as in Number Forty. The only serious mistake in the Official Map which the writer has found is in the location of the Hsieh Ch'i Ch'ü, the first building in the foreign group, which is about two inches too far to the south.

This map is purely a ground plan, with none of the picturesque details of the ordinary Chinese maps. The writer suspects that the accurate way in which it was drawn may have been derived from the Jesuit priests, and that this map may have been closely related in its origin, not only to the "Forty Pictures," but also to the map or picture which hung in Emperor Ch'ien Lung's private residence at the Nine Islands, and which was drawn by Castiglione and other artists.

Without this map it would have been very difficult to locate many of the places described in the "Forty Pictures" and in the other printed descriptions.

The second important manuscript is the *Yuan Ming Yuan Tse Li*, a collection of forty volumes of about seventy-five pages each, in the Library of Congress. A more accurate title would be "Current Regulations for Building and Furnishing Chinese Imperial Palaces, 1727-1750," as the writer has found from a study of all the volumes, for they contain regulations not only for the Yuan Ming Yuan but also for several other palace buildings and temples, and not only for the building operations and materials, but also for furniture and wages of many kinds of workmen. An article on this manuscript appeared in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, September, 1929.

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Yuan Ming Yuan Tse Li. A manuscript. Cf. p. 232.

Yuan's memorandum. A manuscript. Cf. p. 231.

Yü Chih Shih, or Imperial Poems. Several collections of poems composed by the Emperor (some of them, no doubt, by his officials, or in collaboration with them) arranged chronologically were published by imperial command in the reign of Ch'ien Lung and several in the reign of Chia Ch'ing. Many of them were written at the summer palaces and refer to the scenes and the life of the Emperor there.

Yü Chih Yuan Ming Yuan Ssu Shih Ching Shih, or Imperial Poems on the Forty Scenes of the Yuan Ming Yuan. 2 vols. Although these volumes are not dated, the approximate date can be determined from the material which they contain. The two prefaces printed in red, one by Emperor Yung Cheng and the other by Emperor Ch'ien Lung, were carved on two marble tablets which were set up before the Ancestral Shrine, the An Yu Kung, which was completed in 1742 (Cf. pp. 83-88). The poems by the Emperor on the Forty Scenes of the Yuan Ming Yuan are also printed in the *Yü Chih Shih*, in the first collection of Ch'ien Lung's reign, vol. 22, where they are dated 1744, third moon. The forty woodcuts in these volumes, which are referred to above as the "Forty Pictures," are of the same scenes arranged in the same way as the forty paintings of the Yuan Ming Yuan by T'ang Tai and Shen Yuan which were made for Ch'ien Lung in 1744 and are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Cf. Pelliot in *T'oung Pao*, 1921, pp. 231-232. While these woodcuts are not exact copies of the paintings, as they contain many details which the paintings omit, they were probably done at about the same time, so that Pelliot's estimate that the work was published before 1750 is probably correct. This is one of the most important sources.

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The Official Map of the Yuan Ming Yuan is mentioned above, p. 231. Bouillard's map of *Peking et ses environs*, published at Peking about 1920. *Ching I Yuan Ch'un T'u*, or "*Map of Gin-E-Yuan*," in Chinese and English. Peking, 1920. A map of the Hsiang Shan Park.

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Yuan Nei Lu Hsien I Lan Piao. Peking, 1919. A plan of the paths within the New Summer Palace grounds.

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NOTE: An asterisk (*) following a Chinese name and closely preceding a number indicates that the Chinese characters for that name are to be found in Appendix I (pp. 219-29) on the page indicated by the number.

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